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# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 375

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23 December 1982

# CHINA REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 375

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S. ENVOYS, SYRIAN FOREIGN MINISTER HOLD TALKS

OW251238 Beijing XINHUA in English 1716 GMT 25 Nov 82

[Text] Damascus, 24 Nov (XINHUA)--U.S. special envoys Philip Habib and Morris Draper held talks here with Syrian Foreign Minister 'Abd al-Halim Khaddam yesterday on the withdrawal of Israeli and Syrian troops from Lebanon.

No communique was issued after the talks, but reliable sources here disclosed that Habib had proposed simultaneous withdrawal of Israeli and Syrian troops in two stages.

The official newspaper AL-BAATH said that Syria would not discuss withdrawal of Syrian troops with anyone except the Lebanese authorities.

On the withdrawal of Palestinian fighters from Lebanon, Khaddam told Habib that Syria could not speak for the Palestinians, but would be willing to accept the PLO fighters from Lebanon.

It is reported that the two sides also discussed exchange of prisoners of war between Israel and Syria.

Habib and Draper arrived here yesterday morning from Lebanon.

CSO: 4000/30

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### THIRTY OAU MEMBERS TO CONTINUE SUMMIT EFFORTS

OW272320 Beijing XINHUA in English 1637 GMT 27 Nov 82

[Text] Tripoli, 27 Nov (XINHUA)--Thirty members of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) decided last night to make further efforts to convene the 19th summit which has been postponed twice in four months.

In declarations adopted at the end of informal meetings here, heads of state and government of these member states expressed their regret at the two unsuccessful attempts to convene the summit and said the situation facing the OAU threatens the continued existence of the organization. They established a 12-member contact group to pursue a successful summit opening.

The 30 members agreed the mandate of the current chairman should continue until the summit is convened, and the celebration of the 20th anniversary of the OAU should be held next year in Addis Ababa, the headquarters of the organization. In addition, they called on all member states to meet their financial obligations to the OAU.

The leaders expressed their "full support" for the Namibian people in their struggle for self-determination, freedom and national independence.

The UN Security Council Resolution 435 on Namibia remains the only basis for a peaceful settlement of the Namibian problem, they said.

The leaders reiterated their support for the South African people's struggle for national liberation and called on all member states to give assistance to national liberation movements recognized by the OAU.

They "strongly" condemned the U.S. administration for "continued economic, military and nuclear collaboration with the racist regime of South Africa."

They also condemned Israeli aggression against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples and demanded an immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon as well as all occupied Arab territories.

CSO: 4000/30

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### OAU SUMMIT FORMALLY POSTPONED

OW260832 Beijing XINHUA in English 0730 GMT 26 Nov 82

[Text] Tripoli, 25 Nov (XINHUA)--The 19th summit of the Organization of African Unity was formally postponed again because of lack of a quorum of 34 member states present and the "stumbling block" was the problem of Chad. This was announced by OAU Assistant Secretary General Peter Onu at a press conference tonight. The decision was made at an informal meeting of 30 heads of state and government after four hours' discussion tonight.

They decided that: First, the current OAU chairman, Kenyan President Daniel Arap Moi will continue to serve the organization in that capacity before the holding of the summit; second, the secretary and his assistant secretaries general will also continue to serve in their posts until the summit is held; third, member states ought to continue to pay their contributions to the organization; fourth, a contact committee has been set up to try another attempt to hold the 19th summit.

The contact committee is composed of 12 members: Kenya (chairman), Tanzania, Zambia, Mali, Congo, Libya, Mozambique, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Uganda, Angola and Lesotho. The assistant secretary general said despite the compromise agreement reached last night on the Chadian representation, only 30 member states' delegations reaffirmed their readiness to attend the summit. And Upper Volta delegation is ready to come, he said. Meanwhile, Libya, Ethiopia, Madagascar and Mozambique announced that in view of this situation they withdraw from "the concession" they made on the Chadian representation.

Onu announced that ministers of the 30 member states who remain are going to meet tomorrow, 26 November, to draft a declaration on the question of Namibia, South Africa and its occupation of part of Angola as well as its role of de-stabilization in southern Africa. At that informal meeting, Libyan leader Al-Qadhafi said that Libya is ready to hold the 19th OAU Summit at any time in this country, Onu said.

The 19th OAU Summit was originally scheduled for August this year, but failed to take place for lack of a quorum as a result of the serious difference over the membership of Western Sahara. Fourteen delegations including Morocco walked out of the 39th Ministerial Council Meeting which was in preparation of the summit. In the past three months and more, the six-nation contact

group including Tanzania, as well as the current OAU chairman have made strenuous efforts to persuade both sides to make a compromise for African unity. On 30 October, Western Sahara announced voluntary abstention from the meeting, thus paving the way for the current meetings.

Unfortunately, the issue of the Chadian representation broke out at the ministerial council meeting preceeding the summit, leading to the lack of a quorum both at the council meeting and for the summit. Thirty-two member states' delegations reached a compromise agreement late last night, giving official OAU recognition to Chadian President Hissein Habre's government but urging him to voluntarily declare that he would not take part in the present summit. However, the compromise remains unacceptable to the Habre government and a number of member states. Hence there was still no quorum for a formal summit meeting.

CSO: 4000/30

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### U.S.'S COLOMBIA ASTRONAUTS ARRIVE IN BEIJING

OW031845 Beijing XINHUA in English 1558 GMT 3 Dec 82

[Text] Beijing, 3 Dec (XINHUA)--Two American astronauts and their delegation were welcomed by the Chinese Society of Astronautics at a meeting here this afternoon.

The delegation from the U.S. National Aeronautics and Space Administration includes Col Jack Robert Lousma, commander, and Col Charles G. Fullerton, [words indistinct] test series No 3, and their wives. During the meeting, the two astronauts presented reports on space activities and technology in the United States to the more than 600 Chinese officials and experts in space technology.

Sun Jiadong, vice president of the Chinese Academy of Space Technology and vice chairman of the Council of the Chinese Society of Astronautics, presided at this afternoon's meeting.

He said that in recent years the exchanges between the astronautic departments of China and the United States have increased. "The current visit of the [passage indistinct].

Sun Jiadong congratulated the successful testing of the Columbia Space Shuttle and paid tribute to the efforts of Commander Lousma and Pilot Fullerton.

The meeting opened with the presentation of flowers to the astronauts and their wives by Chinese boys and girls.

Lousma said at the meeting that he had seen China hundreds of times during the space flight. "This time I have the privilege to see China on the ground. It would take only 24 minutes to reach China from the United States by a space shuttle," he said.

He said that he hoped to see more cooperation between experts in space technology so as to make the world a better place to live.

During the meeting, a film was presented showing the third of a series of test flights of the space [passage indistinct] were shown as well as slides of



of Chinese landscapes shot by the American astronauts during their space flight.

The astronauts explained the film and slides and answered questions about their space life raised by participants at the meeting.

The Chinese Society of Astronautics hosted a Beijing roast duck banquet this evening for the American guests.

Song Jian, vice minister of astronautics, and Ren Xinmin, chairman of the Council of the Chinese Society of Astronautics were present.

After the banquet, [words indistinct] presented to the Chinese Society of Astronautics photos of the sources and mouths of the Yellow and Yangtze Rivers taken from the space shuttle and the launching and landing of the space shuttle Colombia during its third test flight.

The astronauts arrived here yesterday evening at the invitation of the Chinese Society of Astronautics. During their stay in China, they will conduct technological exchanges with Chinese scientists of astronautics, visit factories and institutes of astronautics as well as scenic spots and historical sites.

CSO: 4000/30

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PAKISTAN'S ZIAUL HAQ CITED ON SOUTH ASIAN PEACE

OW290338 Beijing XINHUA in English 0243 GMT 29 Nov 82

[Text] Islamabad, 28 Nov (XINHUA)--Pakistan President Ziaul Haq said here today that the problem of peace and security in South Asia has acquired an impelling sense of urgency for the international community.

He said this in his message to the First International Conference on the Strategy for Peace and Security in South Asia which opened here today.

He said, "Our policies are geared towards creating an environment conducive to durable peace and security."

"It is only in such an environment that the third world countries can devote their full attention to their economic development and to the improvement of the quality of life of their people," the president said.

The conference co-sponsored by the Pakistan Institute of Strategic Studies and the area study centre, Quaid-e-Azam (Jinnah) University in Islamabad, will last for three days. Attending the conference are scholars, experts and analysts from 14 foreign countries--Bangladesh, Bhutan, Britain, China, West Germany, India, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, Maldives, Nepal, Sri Lanka, USSR, and the United States.

CSO: 4000/30

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BANGLADESH'S ERSHAD SAYS PRC VISIT SUCCESSFUL

OW041653 Beijing XINHUA in English 1608 GMT 4 Dec 82

[Text] Dhaka, 4 Dec (XINHUA)--Bangladesh chief martial law administrator and head of state Lt General Hussain Mohammad Ershad today described his week-long visit to China as "very successful and fruitful."

Speaking to reporters at Dhaka Airport upon his return from China this morning, Ershad said he had "free and frank talks with Chinese leaders on all bilateral, regional and international matters of common concern."

He added Bangladesh and China had identical views on the "burning world issues like Afghanistan, Kampuchea and the Middle East."

He stated that Bangladesh had extended formal recognition to the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea as the legitimate government of Kampuchea.

Ershad said a joint economic commission will be set up following talks between Bangladesh and China.

Ershad said that he was thankful for the "warm and cordial" welcome accorded to him and other members in China.

"The Chinese are very good friends and they are true to their words for which they are very much confident," he added.

CSO: 4000/30

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BANGLADESH PRESS HAILS ERSHAD'S PRC VISIT

OW0616152 Beijing XINHUA in English 1504 GMT 6 Dec 82

[Text] Dhaka, 6 Dec (XINHUA)--Bangladesh newspapers today described the visit to China by Chief Martial Law Administrator Lt General Hussain Mohammad Ershad as "having opened up new horizons of bilateral cooperation between China and Bangladesh."

The BANGLADESH TIMES said in an editorial entitled "Successful Visit" that one very important and tangible outcome of the visit is the agreement by the two countries to set up a joint economic commission for exploring the possibilities of joint ventures, expansion of bilateral trade and strengthening of economic relations.

The editorial said, "Ershad's China visit is not to be judged merely on what fresh prospects for increased state to state collaboration it has generated, because the intrinsic value of the visit lies in the fact that the government leaders of the two countries have been able to establish personal rapport among themselves which is vitally important in the continual strengthening of traditional friendly ties."

It pointed out that the relations between the two countries are firmly placed on confidence and trust which are strengthened every day through increased government to government and people to people contacts.

The BANGLADESH OBSERVER said in an editorial that Ershad's visit to China has opened new prospects for more expansive cooperation and bilateral action in the economic and other fields.

CSO: 4000/30

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### NPC'S PENG CHONG SPEAKS AT DINNER IN MANILA

OW262009 Beijing XINHUA in English 1830 GMT 26 Nov 82

[Text] Manila, 26 Nov (XINHUA)--China will continue to work together with the ASEAN and all other justice-upholding countries to help bring about an early, just and reasonable settlement of the Kampuchean question.

Peng Chong, vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the Chinese National People's Congress (NPC), made these remarks at a dinner given today by Querube C. Makalintal, speaker of the Philippine Batasang Pambansa (National Assembly), in honor of the visiting Chinese NPC delegation, which arrived here yesterday.

He stressed the implementation of the UN resolutions on Kampuchea and the declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea.

Peng Chong highly appreciated the Philippines and the other ASEAN countries for their support to the Kampuchean people led by the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea in their struggle against Vietnamese aggression.

He also paid high tribute to the great successes achieved by the Philippine Government and people, under the leadership of President Ferdinand Marcos, in opposing hegemonist aggression and expansion, promoting the reform of the international economic order and developing their national economy and culture.

Makalintal said that Peng Chong's visit "will be the beginning of closer relations of our two parliaments." "The relations between our two peoples will grow more and more friendly," he added.

Present at the dinner were Philippine Prime Minister Cesar Virata and other senior officials. Chinese Ambassador Mo Yangzhong was also present.

CSO: 4000/30

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### PHILIPPINE PRIME MINISTER RECEIVES NPC OFFICIAL

OW291746 Beijing XINHUA in English 1525 GMT 29 Nov 82

[Text] Manila, 29 Nov (XINHUA)--Both the Philippines and China told that close ties between them are important for the maintenance of peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

This is the view shared by both sides when Philippine Prime Minister Cesar Virata met Peng Chong, vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the Chinese National People's Congress (NPC) and had a friendly conversation with him here this afternoon.

Peng Chong extended to Prime Minister Virata an invitation to visit China any time convenient to him. Virata accepted the invitation.

Virata said, "Our two countries all need peace and stability in this region. We feel the important role China plays in maintaining peace and stability in the region."

The prime minister said, judging from the latest reports he received, China's economic development is going on steadily and soundly. He expressed his congratulations on China's achievements in its efforts of modernization.

He also congratulated Chinese athletes on their excellent performance in the Ninth Asian Games.

Peng Chong briefed Virata on China's modernization progress. He said China needs peace and tranquility in economic construction. The friendly relations between China and the Philippines is important in maintaining peace in Southeast Asia. He expressed the hope that the close and friendly relations between the two countries will further expand.

CSO: 4000/30

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### PRC NPC DELEGATION FETED IN NEW ZEALAND

OW011544 Beijing XINHUA in English 1528 GMT 1 Dec 82

[Text] Wellington, 1 Dec (XINHUA)--New Zealand Speaker of the House of Representatives John Harrison held a luncheon here today in honor of a Chinese National People's Congress (NPC) delegation headed by its standing committee vice chairman Zhu Xuefan.

After a toast by Speaker Harrison, New Zealand Minister of Social Welfare Venn Young said the two countries have great thirst for goodwill and knowledge of each other. He said both countries are committed to peace and stability in the world.

Deputy head of the Chinese delegation Liu Danian answered that China and New Zealand share common concerns over the stability and prosperity of the Pacific region and maintain identical or similar views on many important international issues.

Attending the luncheon were many government ministers and Bill Rowling, leader of the Opposition Labor Party.

Both hosts and guests noted the gratifying development of friendly relations between the two countries since they established diplomatic relations 10 years ago.

Before the luncheon, the Chinese delegation called on Speaker John Harrison and Prime Minister Robert Muldoon on separate occasions.

Members of the delegation also had meetings with Labor Party leader Bill Rowling and Social Credit Party leader Bruce Beetham.

The five-member Chinese delegation arrived here yesterday after a similar visit to Australia.

CSO: 4000/30

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### AFGHAN GUERRILLAS FRUSTRATE SOVIET OFFENSIVE

OW020630 Beijing XINHUA in English 1846 GMT 1 Dec 82

[Text] Islamabad, 1 Dec (XINHUA)--The Afghan Freedom Fighters have frustrated a recent Soviet offensive attempting to capture the liberated areas of Sorkh Ab Valley in Lowgar Province, according to Agency Afghan Press (AAP).

The Soviet troops advanced from Mohammad Aghah Subdivision to the liberated areas in the Sorkh Ab Valley, 65 kilometres south of Kabul on 16 November. They met with strong resistance from the Afghan guerrillas and could not push ahead due to the mined roads. Therefore they had to retreat after 20 men were killed and five tanks were destroyed.

Another AAP report said the Freedom Fighters last month damaged the 250-kilometre double pipeline for petrol and diesel oil supply for the largest Soviet army centre at Qala Gai to the north of Hindu Kush Mountain Ranges. Oil supply was cut off at several points.

AAP reported today that Brigadier of the Afghan Air Force Mohammad Sarwar Shinwari, director of operations at the Kabul Airport, has defected from Afghanistan to take shelter in Pakistan.

He disclosed that 30,000 to 40,000 Soviet troops have been killed in the three-year war in Afghanistan.

CSO: 4000/30



## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### MALAYSIAN PRIME MINISTER ON SRV THREAT TO PEACE

OW082134 Beijing XINHUA in English 1844 GMT 8 Dec 82

[Text] Bangkok, 8 Dec (XINHUA)--Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamed said here this evening that "Vietnam's military intervention and continued occupation of Kampuchea represents not only a direct interference in the internal affairs of the country, but also a threat to the peace and stability of the whole region."

Mahathir flew here for a two-day official visit to Thailand this afternoon. He made the above statement at a dinner given by Thai Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanonda at the Government House.

The Malaysian prime minister vowed to make "vigorous efforts to achieve a political solution of the Kampuchean problem so that the Kampuchean people will again enjoy their freedom and independence, and countries in the region will enjoy durable peace and stability."

"The establishment of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea is an important and historic event in the achievement of a political solution to the Kampuchean problem," he said, adding that "we must continue to urge for a political solution based on the ICK (International Conference on Kampuchea) declaration and UN resolution."

The Malaysian prime minister declared that "as close neighbours, Malaysia stands by Thailand in the face of events in Kampuchea." "Malaysia will work closely with Thailand for the preservation of peace and stability in the region," he added.

He also stressed the cooperation between the two countries in economic and other fields.

In his speech, Thai Prime Minister Prem said, "both Thailand and Malaysia share the view that lasting peace is a precondition of prosperity and well-being. We have aspirations that Southeast Asia should be free from war, hunger and poverty. We also want Southeast Asia to be a zone of peace, freedom, and neutrality and, together with our partners in ASEAN, our efforts will not merely be exercises in futility."

CSO: 4000/30

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

MALAYSIAN PRIME MINISTER PLEDGES SUPPORT FOR CGDK

OW091628 Beijing XINHUA in English 1548 GMT 9 Dec 82

[Text] Bangkok, 9 Dec (XINHUA)--Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamed this afternoon pledged his country's support for Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, president of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, to address the non-aligned summit conference scheduled for next March in India.

He told reporters here that Malaysia would continue to give moral support to the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea.

"If they (the Coalition Government) have problems of social character, like the shortage of food or whatever, we will do something we can to help with our limited capacity," he added.

On his second visit to Thailand since taking over the premiership in July last year, Mahathir had talks with Thai Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanon yesterday afternoon on bilateral relations, international situations and the Kampuchean problem.

After visiting some agricultural projects, Mahathir said Malaysia has a lot to learn from Thailand and he stressed that economic cooperation between the two countries should be enhanced.

He was received in audience by the King of Thailand before leaving for home late this afternoon.

CSO: 4000/30

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### YUGOSLAV PAPER CALLS FOR SOVIET AFGHAN PULL OUT

OW030155 Beijing XINHUA in English 1620 GMT 2 Dec 82

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Dec (XINHUA)--A commentary carried in the Yugoslav newspaper BORBA today demands the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

The commentary points out that it has been three years since the Soviet Union started the military occupation of the once independent and non-aligned Afghanistan. Last month, the UN General Assembly reiterated for the fourth time that foreign troops must withdraw from Afghanistan and respect must be shown for that country's independence and for its people's right to choose their own government and decide their own destiny. An overwhelming majority of the UN member countries, especially neutral and non-aligned countries, support this resolution of the UN General Assembly. This resolution also condemned the creation of another hotbed of war, which poses a new threat to world peace and security, BORBA says.

The commentary denounces the foreign troops for using the most up-to-date weapons in their military operations, which compelled three million Afghan people to leave their homes and join the ranks of the millions of refugees in the world to live a sad life without any guarantee.

The commentary emphatically points out that Yugoslavia joins with all democratic, socialist and progressive forces the world over to uphold peace and oppose the presence in any part of the world of imperialist, hegemonist and domination forces.

CSQ: 4000/30

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### OPPOSITION SCORES VICTORIES IN BRAZIL'S ELECTIONS

OW020640 Beijing XINHUA in English 1859 GMT 1 Dec 82

[Text] Brasilia, 30 Nov (XINHUA)--Brazil's ruling Democratic Socialist Party has emerged victorious in 12 states while opposition parties have won in the other 10 states in the nationwide elections of state governors and senators held on 15 November.

The elections are the largest in scale since 1964 when a military government seized power and also the first direct elections of powerful state governors. More than half of the 58 million people who went to the polls are young people aged from 18 to 35, with most of them voting for the first time.

What is noteworthy is the election of Leonel Brizola, president of the Democratic Labour Party and former governor of the Rio Grande do Sul State, as the governor of the Rio De Janeiro State. President of the Workers' Party and Ignacio da Silva was voted out while Franco Montoro, candidate of Brazil's biggest opposition party, the Democratic Movement Party, was elected governor of the Sao Paulo State. [sentence as received]

Under the constitution of Brazil, a new president will be chosen in 1985 by an electoral college composed of the members of both houses of the congress and representatives of the state assembly members. The outcome of the recent elections will have a direct bearing on the presidential election.

CSO: 4000/30

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### MITTERRAND, MUBARAK HOLD JOINT PRESS CONFERENCE

OW252047 Beijing XINHUA in English 1858 GMT 25 Nov 82

[Text] Cairo, 25 Nov (XINHUA)--Egyptian President Husni Mubarak and visiting French President Francois Mitterrand today called for mutual recognition between Israel and the Palestinians and the realization of the Palestinians' right to self-determination.

They made the call at a joint press conference here after their two rounds of talks on the Middle East and other topics.

During Mitterrand's visit here, Mubarak set seven principles which Egypt views as necessary for solving the Middle East problem. These principles included the withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon, an end to all forms of foreign intervention in Lebanese affairs, respect for Lebanese sovereignty, a stop to the call for establishment of a substitute entity of the Palestinians because Palestinian identity would find its expression only on the Palestinian land, an end to all Israeli settlements in the occupied Arab lands and resumption of peace negotiations.

Mubarak urged the Palestinians to recognize Israel, saying: "Even if Israel did not make a recognition, PLO's recognition would open the way for a U.S. dialogue with the PLO." Palestinian-Jordanian cooperation would also push forward the peace process, he added.

Mitterrand said that France's position on the Middle East problem rests principally on the rights of peoples and states. He advocated a reciprocal recognition between Israel and the Palestinians as the first step towards peace. He upheld the French-Egyptian Middle East peace initiative as forming, along with the other peace initiatives, a groundwork on which endeavors should be made for the realization of Middle East peace.

The Egyptian and French sides also discussed during their talks the strengthening of their cooperation in various fields.

Mitterrand is the first EEC head of state to visit Egypt since Mubarak assumed the presidency in October last year. Pursuing a more balanced foreign policy, Egypt has developed its relations with West European countries. Mitterrand left Cairo this afternoon to visit Aswan and Luxor. He will leave Egypt tomorrow for India.

CSO: 4000/24

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### FRANCE TO SUPPLY NUCLEAR FUEL TO INDIA

OW 281900 Beijing XINHUA in English 1833 GMT 28 Nov 82

[Text] Paris, 27 Nov (XINHUA)--France today agreed to supply India with the 20 tons of slightly enriched uranium hexafluoride needed annually for one of its nuclear power plants.

The Franco-Indian nuclear agreement was signed just before today's start of French President Francois Mitterrand's four-day visit to India.

The uranium is necessary for making combustible elements to feed the two 200-megawatt boiling water reactors at the U.S.-build Tarapur Nuclear Power Station, which went into service in 1969.

The Franco-Indian agreement succeeds the 30-year U.S.-Indian agreement signed in 1963. The United States stopped supplying uranium to India in 1978 after New Delhi refused U.S. demands to accept regular inspection of all its nuclear sites as stipulated in the U.S. non-proliferation act.

It was reported that after four years of diplomatic negotiations between the United States and India, the two sides reached an agreement in principle on 29 July this year whereby France would replace the United States as a supplier for the Tarapur Nuclear Power Plant.

CSO: 4000/24

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

CASTRO CITES MOZAMBIQUE THREAT--Havana, 27 Nov (XINHUA)--In his capacity as chairman of the non-aligned movement, Fidel Castro Ruz today urged all member states to take unified action against South Africa's possible military invasion of Mozambique. In his message to heads of state or government of the organization's member states, Castro said that the member states of the non-aligned movement should make joint efforts to compel South African troops to withdraw from the Mozambican border. The message also demanded immediate UN action to stop the racists' sinister designs. [Text] [OW281451 Beijing XINHUA in English 1207 GMT 28 Nov 82]

HUSAYN LEAVES PAKISTAN FOR PRC--Islamabad, 5 Dec (XINHUA)--A delegation of the Arab "Committee of Seven Members" headed by King Husayn of Jordan left here for China today after a 17-hour stay in Pakistan. King Husayn, accompanied by foreign ministers from six Arab countries and Secretary General of the Arab League Chedli Klibi, is on a mission to detail the Arab plan for Middle East peace to five permanent member nations of the UN Security Council. At a dinner in honor of the delegation last evening, Pakistan President Ziaul Haq reaffirmed resolute support for the Palestine cause and the Arab peace plan. [Text] [OW051126 Beijing XINHUA in English 1101 GMT 5 Dec 82]

CSO: 4000/30

## PARTY AND STATE

### BAI RUBING VIEWS NEW CONSTITUTION

SK290921 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 28 Nov 82

[Text] According to a XINHUA report: At a panel discussion held on 28 November, Bai Rubing, deputy to the Fifth National People's Congress and first secretary of the Provincial CPC Committee, said: The new constitution, which is a general constitution for running the state well and ensuring the state's stability and which will be approved at the Fifth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, will be an immeasurable guarantee for stabilizing the country's political situation and further promoting unity among all nationalities and an immeasurable impetus for creating a new situation in all fields of the four modernizations.

He said that he has three personal views on the revised draft constitution and Comrade Peng Zhen's report.

1) The revised draft constitution fully reflects the features of our new historical age. It echoes and attends to the prospects for developing the current practical situation.

The revised draft constitution, in its preface, general programme and articles, its exposition of state, social and economic systems and its regulations on citizens' rights and obligations and on foreign policies, clearly indicates a state situation in which our socialist construction has greatly developed since the reform of socialism. The new constitution is a guarantee for promoting the construction of a high-level socialist democratic country with high civilization. Therefore, the new constitution, having our national features, fits the needs for building the socialist modernization in the new historical age.

2) The revised draft constitution fully embodies the general guiding ideology that takes the four fundamental principles as a key link in the political field in our country. The four fundamental principles are closely interrelated and completely compatible.

The party led the country to carry the revolution to the end in order to win people's democracy and to establish people's political rights with a view to implementing socialism in line with the theories of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong thought. The four fundamental principles are our political bases



and a national treasure with which our Chinese nation has fought together to attain victory.

The four fundamental principles are included in the new constitution and affirmed by it in the form of supreme law. The new constitution will play a full role in mobilizing and upholding our country's political life in the future.

3) The revised draft constitution fully reflects the prime work of the state in the new age. In the past years, especially in the decade of turmoil, we experienced two bitter lessons. One is that the state became absolutely lawless and the other is that great attention was paid to political movements to the neglect of economic construction. We shall never do such stupid things again.

The revised draft constitution accurately stipulates that the state should focus on building socialist modernization in the future and that that is our basic task. In other words, the constitution of the state guarantees the four modernizations will not be obstructed and ensures they will be carried out to the end. This is one of the most important achievements in bringing order out of chaos that has been scored by the people of all nationalities under the leadership of the Party Central Committee. This is our accurate conclusions drawn from bitter experiences. It consists of the basic interests of the people.

We should concentrate on the issue of building spiritual civilization in the society. Attention should be paid to the two civilizations. Although the construction of the spiritual civilization is one of our basic tasks, it should fit and serve the material civilization. The central task is economic construction and we should make an overall arrangement for it.

CSO: 4005/206

## PARTY AND STATE

### SHANDONG'S ZHAO LIN VIEWS NEW CONSTITUTION

SK291151 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 28 Nov 82

[Text] According to a XINHUA report reprinted in DAZHONG RIBAO, Zhao Lin, head of the Shandong Provincial delegation to the Fifth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress and chairman of the Standing Committee of the Provincial People's Congress, said in a panel discussion: The draft of the revised constitution submitted to the congress for examination and approval sums up historical experiences in our country's socialist cause and reflects the fundamental interests and common demands of the people of all nationalities across our country and, therefore, is a cardinal law for the new historical stage in administering our country and giving our people peace and security. With such a good constitution, our socialist country will certainly grow and flourish.

In line with the practical situation of Shandong Province, Zhao Lin expressed some opinions on ways to study, propagate and implement the new constitution after it is approved.

1. The guidelines of the new constitution are totally identical to those of the 12th Party Congress. Therefore, the study, propagation and implementation of the new constitution should be closely integrated with the study and implementation of the documents of the 12th Party Congress. Cadres at all levels and the masses throughout the province are now penetratingly studying and implementing the guidelines and documents of the 12th Party Congress. After the new constitution is approved by the NPC, it will be necessary to make complementary arrangements for the study of the documents of the 12th Party Congress and the new constitution so as to closely integrate them. The study, propagation and implementation of the new constitution are major events with far-reaching significance. Standing committees of People's Congresses at all levels throughout the province should pay special attention to them and make the new constitution known to every household. People's deputies should not only set examples in studying, propagating and implementing the new constitution, but should also see to it that People's Congresses standing committees, people's governments and judicial departments handle affairs and carry out their duties according to the constitution.

2. The new constitution extends the functions and powers of the NPC Standing Committee and the standing committees of local People's Congresses. We should

exercise the rights entrusted to us by the constitution to further improve local legislation work. Over the past 3 years or so, the Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee has formulated and promulgated 25 items on local laws and regulations in line with practical needs. Of them, eight belong to the realm of finance and economy, five to politics and laws, five to local political power, four to social legislation and three belong to the realm of culture, education and public health. These local laws and regulations have energetically supported and promoted the work of governments and procuratorial and judicial organs and have played an important role in promoting stability and unity and in ensuring the four modernizations drive. In the future, we should formulate some additional new laws and regulations concerning the work of administration, economy, society, education, sciences and culture in accordance with the stipulations of the constitution and in line with the province's practical needs so as to create a new situation in our province's local legislative work.

3. It is necessary to further strengthen the building of People's Congress standing committees at all levels in order to meet the needs of new situations. The Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee has done a lot of work in the little over 3 years since it was established. The standing committee has sponsored 18 meetings of standing committee members, listened on many occasions to the work reports of governments and departments concerned, discussed many important matters on local administration, repeatedly organized people's deputies to make inspections at grassroots units and received and handled letters and visits from people's deputies and the masses. However, the standing committee has not done nearly enough. The new constitution further intensifies the People's Congress system and entrusts even heavier tasks to local People's Congress standing committees at all levels. Therefore, only by strengthening the building of People's Congress standing committees at all levels can we keep abreast of the new situations.

CSO: 4005/206

## PARTY AND STATE

### PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES HAIL NEW CONSTITUTION

OW041615 Beijing XINHUA in English 1101 GMT 4 Dec 82

[Text] Beijing, 4 Dec (XINHUA)--Interviews with people's deputies by XINHUA today revealed their great expectations for China's new constitution. Following are their remarks:

Leo Jieqiong (law expert, vice mayor of Beijing): The constitution marks a new stage of development in China's socialist democracy. The process of its birth, which lasted more than two years and included four months of nationwide discussions, is a convincing testimony to our democracy. The principle underlying the new constitution is "all power belongs to the people."

Li Youxiu (a peasant deputy from an old revolutionary base in Jiangxi Province): I took part in drafting and revision the previous three constitutions. I think the present one is the best. It takes into full consideration the rights and interests of the peasants.

Zhu Erpei (51, party secretary of the Baoshan Iron and Steel Works, Shanghai): As I walked towards the ballot box, I had in mind our people's long-time wish for a constitutional guarantee of national stability. The "cultural revolution" taught our people how important a constitution is. I'm ready to defend the constitution with my life.

Ismail Amat (47, chairman of the People's Government of Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region): The new constitution is an embodiment of the common wishes and interests of the Chinese people of all nationalities. I believe it will help us forward along the road of modernization and bring greater prosperity to the country, including the border regions.

Wang Chengzhu (nuclear physicist): I returned to China in 1956 after spending 15 years in the United States. I am very happy to see the importance attached to the new role of the intellectuals by the new constitution. I pledge to do my best and live up to the expectations.

Cao Yu (chairman of the Chinese Dramatists Association): The affirmation of the intellectual's role and the emphasis on the development of culture in the new constitution have the hearty support of our writers and artists. Though I am old, I will try to produce better works for our people, and I foresee a

larger contingent of talented young writers and artists to come to the fore. I recently visited Britain, France, the United States and Japan. I believe the people there and in other countries will welcome our constitution, which has underlined our wish for world peace.

Zhou Peiyuan (physicist, chairman of the China Association for Science and Technology): With 20 million scientists, writers and teachers today, which is four times the number of 1949, China surely can rely on its own efforts to advance towards modernization. The new constitution provides an additional guarantee for this.

Rong Yiren (general manager of the China International Trust and Investment Corporation): I am particularly interested in the constitutional provisions that we shall continue to follow a policy of opening to the outside world, while safeguarding our national independence. I am confident it will promote economic and technical cooperation between China and other countries.

Wang Wenjuan (26, Shanghai's ace archer and three-time world record breaker): When I cast my vote, I thought of shooting. I love the sport and I'll apply myself to hitting higher marks to bring credit to my country.

Kang Keqing (Red Army veteran, president of the All China Women's Federation): The constitution is the fruit of several generations' struggle. All mothers will feel particularly glad because it provides a bright future for their children.

Si Xia (one of China's best primary school teachers, from Nanjing): Having spent 55 years among pupils, I am very much satisfied with the stress the constitution puts on civic virtues, including the love for the motherland, the people, labor, science and socialism. This will help our children grow up with a healthy education.

Wu Yupu (63, NPC Standing Committee member, from the Tianjin Association for Science and Technology): I began working at 14 for an ironsmith shop, under a contract that literally placed my life at the mercy of the boss. Old China's constitution protected the wealthy and oppressed the poor. I have been happy since the birth of new China, and I think the new constitution will make us even happier.

CSO: 4000/25

## PARTY AND STATE

### LEADERS AT PARTY FOR NPC DEPUTIES, CPPCC MEMBERS

OW081606 Beijing XINHUA in English 1556 GMT 8 Dec 82

[Text] Beijing, 8 Dec (XINHUA)--More than 1,400 National People's Congress deputies and national committee members of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference from minority nationalities, religious circles, Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan attended an evening party in the Great Hall of the People here today.

The party was sponsored by the United Front Work Department of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, the NPC Nationalities Committee, and State Nationalities Affairs Commission and the Bureau of Religious Affairs under the State Council.

Ulanhu, member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and vice chairman of the NPC Standing Committee, spoke at the party. He said he believed that the new constitution and the Sixth Five-Year Plan will inspire the whole nation to work for the great goal to be achieved by the end of the century.

He expressed hope that all those present at the party will further strengthen and consolidate the socialist relationship of various nationalities in China, develop and expand the patriotic united front and make new contributions to the reunification of the motherland.

Xi Zhongxun, member of the Political Bureau and the secretariat of the CPC Central Committee; Seypidin, Ngapoi Ngawang Jigme and Bainqen Erdini Qoigyigaincaín, vice chairmen of the NPC Standing Committee; and Liu Lantao, vice chairman of the CPPCC National Committee, also attended.

CSO: 4000/31

## PARTY AND STATE

### BEIJING PRESS HIGHLIGHTS SUCCESS OF NPC

OW110234 Beijing XINHUA in English 0217 GMT 11 Dec 82

[Text] Beijing, 11 Dec (XINHUA)--All newspapers in the Chinese capital today feature the success of the Fifth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress with a lively frontpage spread under banner headlines.

Editorializing on the event, the PEOPLE'S DAILY and the LIBERATION ARMY DAILY emphasize the guarantee for the implementation of the new constitution and the Sixth Five-Year Plan, and the other newspapers call for all-out efforts to fulfill the targets specified in the plan.

Photos of NPC Standing Committee Chairman Ye Jianying addressing the closing ceremony yesterday, Executive Chairman of the Presidium Yang Shangkun presiding over the meeting, and a picture showing the mammoth auditorium in the Great Hall of the People where the meeting was held are prominently frontpaged in all papers.

In an editorial entitled "The Most Powerful Guarantee," the PEOPLE'S DAILY says that the one billion people of China, with more than thirty years' experience since the founding of the People's Republic, including their bitter experience in the "Great Leap Forward" and the "Cultural Revolution," constitute the greatest force guaranteeing the enforcement of the new constitution and the realization of the Sixth Five-Year Plan.

The LIBERATION ARMY DAILY editorial calls on the whole army to study and implement the resolutions of the Fifth Session of the Fifth NPC. WORKERS' DAILY urges the Chinese working class to strive for the fulfillment of the five-year plan.

GUANGMING DAILY calls on the Chinese intellectuals to make their greatest contributions possible to China's socialist modernization. CHINA YOUTH NEWS describes the Sixth Five-Year Plan as "a magnificent blueprint" and encourages the young people in China to strive for its realization.

Chairman Ye Jianying's speech is printed in full by the Beijing press. The papers generally devote their second page to the resolutions passed at yesterday's meeting of the NPC session.

CSO: 4000/31

PARTY AND STATE

BEIJING PAPERS ON 5TH CPPCC SESSION CLOSING

OWL20246 Beijing XINHUA in English 0236 GMT 12 Dec 82

[Text] Beijing, 12 Dec (XINHUA)--Newspapers here today devote front page coverage to yesterday's closing of the Fifth Session of the Fifth National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC).

In an editorial hailing the closing of the Fifth Session of the CPPCC, the PEOPLE'S DAILY, China's leading newspaper, says that in socialist country of China, as long as the Chinese Communist Party exists the united front led by the party will exist. The editorial spoke highly of the new constitution of the CPPCC adopted at its fifth session. "It is a correct programme which will lead the people's political consultative work to a new phase in the present new historic stage," the editorial says.

Political consultative conference is a patriotic united front organization led by the Chinese Communist Party. So far there are more than 1,600 such organisations at and above county levels with 100,000 members.

The PEOPLE'S DAILY and other papers also carry the full texts of the new constitution of the CPPCC and the political resolution adopted at its fifth session.

CSO: 4000/31



## PARTY AND STATE

### PROFESSOR HUANG YAONIAN ON CHINA'S UNITED FRONT

OW291804 Beijing XINHUA in English 1506 GMT 29 Nov 82

[Text] Beijing, 29 Nov (XINHUA)--A university professor unjustly discredited for 23 years today hailed the new situation in China which has brought him back into the political limelight.

Huang Yaonian, 80, said in an interview with XINHUA that it is now possible for intellectuals like him to air their views freely and contribute their share to the nation's socialist modernization.

"I'm determined to devote the rest of my life to the well being of the country and the people," he said.

He is attending the Fifth Session of the Fifth National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference here in Beijing.

Professor Huang, a member of the China Democratic League, was discredited as a "rightist" in 1957 along with the sociologist, Fei Xiaotong, and four other professors because of a proposal they had tabled for restructuring China's institutions of higher education. He was stripped of all political rights and the right to teach.

Thorough-going investigations in the past few years found his case to be a frame-up and he was politically exonerated and made a member of the CPPCC National Committee in 1978.

Describing his experiences and frustrations, Professor Huang attributed his new lease of political life to the Chinese Communist Party's present policy for expanding and improving its united front work.

"China's united front, as a vehicle for democracy, has made great progress and undergone tremendous changes," Huang said. It now aims at winning over every possible supporter and uniting with all possible forces to help the modernization program and the reunification of the motherland, he added.

The united front, he said, was an alliance formed by people from various nationalities, social strata, democratic parties and other patriotic forces under the leadership of the communist party in the struggle for the victory of the Chinese revolution.

It played an important role in founding the People's Republic and has been active in China's socialist construction since the mainland was liberated in 1949, Professor Huang said.

Now, many intellectuals like him and other people who suffered during the cultural revolution are actively working for the modernization program and the cause of reunification, he said.

The China Democratic League and other democratic parties took part in revising the national constitution and put forward more than 1,500 proposals.

A number of scholars and specialists from the Democratic League have in recent years conducted special investigations in Yunnan, Guizhou, Xinjiang and Hainan Island where they lectured on ways of utilizing the rich resources there.

A proposal made by Professor Huang himself early this year for reforming China's middle and primary education and increasing funds for schools won approval from the central authorities.

Other people involved in the united front are running schools, providing consultant services, building collective enterprises, or contributing to socialist construction in other ways.

They are all working for this broad alliance known as the united front whose ultimate goal is to help build a modern socialist country and reunify the motherland by bringing the mainland and Taiwan together, Professor Huang said.

CSO: 4000/25

## PARTY AND STATE

### NPC RECEIVES LETTERS WITH PROPOSALS, GREETINGS

OWO21316 Beijing XINHUA in English 1232 GMT 2 Dec 82

[Text] Beijing, 2 Dec (XINHUA)--China's new draft constitution and its Sixth Five-Year Plan are being discussed not only by the more than 3,000 deputies attending the current session of the National People's Congress (NPC) here.

Since the session opened last Friday, the NPC Standing Committee has been receiving more than 700 letters everyday from people across the country offering proposals as well as congratulations.

"This is three times the number of letters received in off-session seasons," a leading official of the "Letters From the People" section under the NPC Standing Committee told XINHUA today.

Up to 30 November, he said, a total of 4,341 letters had reached his office. "They include proposals for a great variety of questions, ranging from the rewriting of some constitution articles and restructuring government organizations to ideas about the wage system, social welfare, rural industry and commerce, utilization of natural resources, family planning, educational policy and management of housing," he said.

Though the nationwide discussion of the draft revised constitution ended in August, the official said, letters are still coming in with proposals for some further revisions. They have all been passed on to the congress working group on the constitution for consideration.

"Some of these proposals are very important," he said. "For example, a telegram sent by one Wang Yinxiang of the lock manufacturing corporation in Hohhot, Inner Mongolia, on 29 November made four suggestions, including one proposing the inclusion in the constitution of provisions for improving land management and development."

The official said that during the nationwide discussion from last May to August, his section received 566 letters with proposals about the constitution, some even enclosing their own rewritten texts.

"All proposals were promptly passed on to the committee for revision of the constitution," the official said. "The draft revised constitution being

"discussed at the current NPC session has incorporated some of these proposals."

Among the other letters, one from a retired worker named Yu Qilong of Dantu County, Jiangsu Province, urged the early adoption of a civil law. Liu Xinzhang from the Public Health Bureau of Boxian County, Anhui Province, and Yi Jian from Fuling County, Sichuan Province, sent in detailed proposals for the formulation of a family planning law.

He Runhua, deputy chief engineer of the Jilin Petrochemical Designing Institute, proposed the establishment of a state resources commission for the unified administration of the investigation, planning, development, management and utilization of land, water, energy and other natural resources.

A peasant from Beijing suburbs suggested that a national commission for discipline inspection be set up to supervise the state organs and their staff members.

After watching the NPC opening session on the television, an old peasant named Tan Zucheng of Changning County, Hunan Province, sent to the congress his wishes for the prosperity of the country. "I would work the rest of my life for realizing the national goal," he wrote.

Another man, named Zhao Yongwei, cabled from Suixi, Shaanxi Province, to say that the draft revised constitution "has satisfied every wish of ours." "As a citizen who has relatives in Taiwan," he said, "I have the duty to work for the return of Taiwan to the motherland."

An armyman named Du Xiangtong wrote on behalf of the officers and men of his unit to voice their support for restoring the original words of the national anthem, the "March of Volunteers."

"We have sung the song for many years, it gives us strength each time we sing it," he said. "We have been very unhappy since the words were changed under 'leftist' influence."

Many letters touched on this question, the official of the NPC "Letters" section said. "Most of them shared Du's opinion."

Quite a number of letters of complaint against certain deputies and leading cadres were received during the 1980 NPC session, he recalled. "Fewer were received during the 1981 session and they have become a rarity this year," he added.

A possible reason, he said, is that the few deputies the masses disliked have been recalled by their constituencies through procedures prescribed by law in the past few years.

The "Letters From the People" Section has a staff of 20, the official said. Their responsibility is to read and catalog the letters and transmit them to the leading or administrative departments concerned for consideration.

"Of course," he said, "we also have the responsibility to see whether the letters have been properly attended to. In the past year, we have sent many groups of people across the country to check how the problems raised in the letters were solved."

When the congress met last year, he said, a retired cadre in Beijing wrote that a railway should be built from Datong to carry coal out of Shanxi, Inner Mongolia and Ningxia. A route plan was enclosed in the letter.

"We passed it on the Ministry of Railways," he said. "There many experts examined the proposal and made some preliminary survey. They accepted the proposal, but decided on a more economic route and informed the cadre of the decision."

CSO: 4000/25

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'ZHEJIANG' CIRCULAR ON SELECTING ADVANCED UNITS

OW290915 Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 18 Nov 82 p 1

[Excerpts] The Zhejiang Provincial Party Committee recently issued a circular urging all grassroot party organizations, including party branches of party and government organs throughout the province to do a good job in selecting this year's advanced party branches and outstanding party members before the end of this year. [passage omitted]

The provincial party committee circular demands that all grassroot party branches carry out an overall appraisal by the end of this year in order to select advanced party branches and outstanding party members. It says: The selection must be a process of conscientiously implementing the 12th Congress guidelines and the new party constitution, a process of educating the party members in the party's basic theories, spirit, style and discipline, and a process of learning from one another to make up one another's deficiencies and make common improvements. In the selection process, we must act according to the new party constitution's strict demands on party members, party cadres and grassroot party organizations, insist that the requirements be met, assure the quality and not just make up the required numbers. Those selected as advanced party branches and outstanding party members should be those that have performed outstanding and advanced exemplary deeds in accomplishing the party's tasks and discharging party members' obligation and have been recognized by the masses. Those who have made rather good performances but have not met the requirements for outstanding party members can be regarded as party activists and recommended by the grassroot party committees.

The circular says: The selection should fully demonstrate democracy and follow the mass line. Each party branch should earnestly sum up its work and listen to the opinions of large numbers of party members and masses before selection is made within the grassroot party committees. Party members will be appraised and recommended by the party branch general assembly after giving brief summaries of themselves. Then the grassroot party committees will discuss and decide on who should be selected. All advanced party branches and outstanding party members should be reported to the county party committees for approval and nomination. [passage omitted]

CSO: 4005/202

## PARTY AND STATE

### LIAONING'S NPC DEPUTY ON NEW CONSTITUTION

OW011425 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1614 GMT 27 Nov 82

[Text] Beijing, 27 Nov (XINHUA)--On the opening day of the Fifth Session of the Fifth NPC, Li Huang, permanent secretary of the Liaoning Provincial CPC Committee, told a XINHUA reporter that the Fifth Session of the Fifth NPC, held after the party's 12th National Congress, will examine and adopt the constitution of the People's republic of China and the Sixth 5-Year Plan for the development of the national economy, which are needed for creating a new situation in socialist modernization and completely in line with the aspirations of all the Chinese people. He said that the deputies from Liaoning Province are determined to follow the guidelines of the 12th Party Congress, concentrate on the session's proceedings and successfully carry out the session's glorious tasks.

Li Huang said: The enactment of a new constitution is a major event long hoped for by the people of all nationalities throughout the country. To build a modern and powerful socialist country, we must have a general rule for running the country and maintaining stability. For many years the Lin Biao and the "gang of four" counterrevolutionary cliques acted lawlessly and committed all kinds of outrages, causing extremely serious disasters to the country and people. The bitter lesson has made the people of the whole country feel the pressing need for a fundamental law which affirms in legal terms the fruits of the Chinese people's struggle, stipulates the state's fundamental system and tasks, is the most authoritative and has the supreme legal force.

He said: The new constitution soon to be adopted will be a constitution which is characteristically Chinese and suited to the requirements of the new historical period and will remain intact for a long time to come. Its adoption and implementation will be of great and far-reaching significance for consolidating our people's democratic dictatorship and developing our socialist cause.

Li Huang said: The great destructive effects of the 10 years of turmoil have dimmed the legal concept in many people's minds. After the promulgation of the new constitution, we should organize cadres and people of all nationalities in the province to thoroughly study and implement it so that it will become known to every household, strike root in people's hearts and become

their guidance for action. The vast numbers of communist party members and cadres at all levels in particular should be models in studying, publicizing and implementing the new constitution.

Li Huang said: Resolutely shifting the state's work emphasis to socialist economic modernization is an important strategic principle for setting things to rights. This principle has been recorded in the constitution. All our work must be firmly focused on and serve socialist economic modernization. The 12th CPC National Congress set the goal of quadrupling the gross annual value of industrial and agricultural production by the end of the century and determined the strategic priorities and the two steps in our strategic planning. This session will examine and approve the Sixth 5-Year Plan. Both in quadrupling the country's industrial and agricultural production value and in implementing the Sixth 5-Year Plan, Liaoning, as a heavy industrial base, has important responsibilities. We are determined to overcome all the difficulties confronting us, unite the people of all nationalities in the whole province to bring their initiative into full play, learn from the advanced experiences of the fraternal provinces and strive to fulfill the task assigned us by the party.

CSO: 4005/202



## PARTY AND STATE

### SHANGHAI ON STRUGGLE AGAINST ECONOMIC CRISIS

OW180123 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 16 Nov 82

[Station commentary: "Have a Clear Understanding of the Priorities in the Struggle, Adopt the Concept of Waging a Protracted Struggle"]

[Text] The municipality's struggle against criminal offenses in the economic field has shifted its emphasis from a general exposure of problems to the investigation and handling of major and important cases and from an all-out attack to the special investigation and study of loopholes and problems in leading bodies at or above the ward, county or bureau level. This requires us to further summarize our experiences and lessons and to properly solve various problems exposed in the struggle in order to further deepen the struggle.

The struggle is now at a critical stage. Guided by the guidelines of the 12th Party Congress, party organizations at various levels and large numbers of communist party members should clearly understand the protracted, complicated and arduous nature of this struggle, further overcome their slack mood and firmly adopt the concept of waging a protracted struggle. They must undertake Comrade Hu Yaobang's call, made in his report to the 12th Party Congress, to enhance understanding of this struggle, take a firm stand in it and unswervingly carry it through to the end.

We must soberly remember that old Shanghai was a paradise for foreign adventurers. Shanghai was a base of the gang of four during the 10 years of domestic turmoil during which the party style and the standards of social conduct were seriously undermined.

While pursuing a policy of opening to the outside and taking flexible measures to invigorate our domestic economy, (?corrupt capitalist practices) have inevitably invaded us from all quarters. In addition, there are loopholes in our rules, regulations and management. All this shows that there are historical roots and social conditions for grave economic crimes in Shanghai.

Therefore, the leading comrades of party organizations at various levels and large numbers of communist party members must conscientiously study the documents of the 12th Party Congress and fully understand that this struggle is a reflection of class struggle in new historical conditions and one of the four

tasks we must carry out for a long time to come, at least for some 20 years before the end of this century. It is an important guarantee for us to uphold the socialist road and to bring about a new situation. For this reason, we must not assume that this struggle is being waged on a temporary basis or that it will be over after a while. At the same time, we must not relax our efforts in waging this struggle while we grasp production and other work. Party committees at various levels should carry out the struggle against grave criminal offenses in the economic and other fields as an important task and carry it through to the end.

CSO: 4005/202

## PARTY AND STATE

### JIANGSU'S HONG PEILIN ON SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

OW190221 Nanjing JIANGSU Provincial Service in mandarin 2300 GMT 17 Nov 82

[Text] The party committee of provincial-level organs held a meeting on the afternoon of 17 November to hear a lecture on the study of the 12th Party Congress documents.

Comrade Hong Peilin, standing committee member of the provincial party committee, gave a lecture entitled "Strive to Attain a High Level of Socialist Democracy" to 3,000 party members and Cadres of the provincial-level organs.

After dwelling on the scope and content of socialist democracy in terms of our state and political system, Comrade Hong Peilin pointed out: The People's Democratic dictatorship ensures that the working people, the overwhelming majority of the populations, rare the masters of the state, and it exercises dictatorship over a tiny minority of hostile elements who try to undermine socialism. As far as our province is concerned, only 538 persons were the target of dictatorship in 1979 after the removal of people's labels such as landlord, rich peasant, counterrevolutionary and bad element following the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Those who committed crimes and were sentenced to prison terms in the province in 1981 accounted for only 2 of every 10,000 of the province's population. Thus, socialist democracy ensures that the overwhelming majority of the people enjoy their rights as the masters of the state, and it is incomparably superior to bourgeois democracy.

He emphatically pointed out: Only by continuing to develop socialist democracy can we effectively guarantee and support the building of socialist material and spiritual civilization. At the same time, the development of socialist material and spiritual civilization will provide more favorable conditions for the development of socialist democracy.

On the socialist legal system, Comrade Hong Peilin said: In strengthening the legal system, it is now necessary to do the following three things:

It is necessary to educate party members to abide by the stipulation of the party constitution that the party must conduct its activities within the limits permitted by the constitution and laws of the state and to conscientiously abide by the constitution and laws of the state;

It is necessary to encourage and help law enforcement organs enforce the laws impartially and incorruptibly;

It is necessary to give wide publicity to the legal system and to conduct extensive education on it among the people.

CSO: 4005/202

## PARTY AND STATE

### JIANGSU'S HAN PEIXIN AT NPC PANEL DISCUSSIONS

OW290235 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0232 GMT 28 Nov 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 28 Nov (XINHUA)--Speaking at a panel discussion on the draft revised constitution, Han Peixin, NPC deputy and acting governor of Jiangsu, said that the present draft revised constitution is good because it gives full expression to democracy, pools the wisdom of the masses and reflects the people's will. With a clearer guiding principle, the draft revised constitution contains provisions for the state system, the government structure, the political and economic system and regulations concerning socialist spiritual civilization and other fields, which are more suited to the reality of China. Comrade Peng Zhen's report has explicitly explained the guidelines and other fundamental principles in revising the constitution and enabled us to further understand the position, role and historical significance of the new constitution. [passage omitted]

Han Peixin said: A very important feature of the draft revised constitution is the integration of the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of socialism in our country, thereby making the constitution more suited to the undertaking of modernization. The draft revised constitution not only stipulates that "the fundamental task of the country from now on is to concentrate efforts on the building of socialist modernization," but also makes some clear-cut provisions for the economic system. [passage omitted]

The article on "Implementation of Various Forms of the Socialist Responsibility System" provides the legal foundation for introducing the responsibility system in all trades and professions, dispels the masses' "fear of changes" and promotes the popularization of the responsibility system in all fields. In short, the new constitution which will come into effect soon will be conducive to harnessing the socialist enthusiasm, initiative and creativity of the broad masses of people. Enlivening the economy, flourishing the entire national economy and accelerating the building of socialist modernization..

Han Peixin said: After adoption of the new constitution, deputies from Jiangsu will set a good example in observing the constitution and actively publicize and conscientiously safeguard it. Cadres responsible for government work should do their work according all the more to the constitution and accept the supervision of the masses.

CSO: 4005/202

## PARTY AND STATE

### SHANGHAI'S HU LIJIAO PRAISES NEW CONSTITUTION

OW051739 Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 30 Nov 82

[Excerpts] During an interview with a JIEFANG RIBAO reporter in Beijing, Hu Lijiao, NPC deputy from Shanghai and second secretary of the Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee, who is attending the Fifth Session of the Fifth NPC, said that the new constitution to be adopted by the current NPC session is the most comprehensive constitution since the founding of new China and that it is distinctively Chinese, suits the needs of the new historical period and will remain valid for a considerable period of time. The people of Shanghai must study the new constitution, publicize it, implement it and defend it.

[Passage omitted] Touching on the discussion of the draft revised constitution, Hu Lijiao said that the standing committees of the NPC and local people's congresses had organized large-scale meetings to discuss the draft constitution. Because of the large numbers of participants, these meetings have produced an unprecedented impact on all fronts. In Shanghai, the party and government offices, the municipal CPPCC committee, democratic parties, people's organizations, leading cadres at all levels, scholars and experts have put forward many opinions and suggestions on the revision of the constitution; the people of the whole municipality also offered their opinions and suggestions after extensive discussion. Many important and reasonable suggestions put forward by Shanghai have been adopted by the committee for the revision of the constitution. The draft revised constitution, which has been submitted to the NPC for examination, has really pooled the wisdom of the people of the whole country, reflects the common will and fundamental interests of all nationalities in the country, sums up China's positive and negative experiences in socialist construction over a period of more than 30 years, conforms to the situation in China and meets the needs of socialist modernization. The draft constitution is a general statute for running the country.

[Passage omitted] Hu Lijiao stressed that defending the sanctity of the constitution is an important matter concerning political stability and the destiny of the country and the people. Therefore, no one is permitted to harm the foundation of the constitution. The workers, peasants, intellectuals and people of all walks of life in Shanghai, together with the people of the whole country, should conscientiously study the new constitution, publicize it, respect it, implement it and resolutely defend it. [passage omitted]

Efforts should be made to improve the standing committee of the Shanghai Municipal People's Congress in accordance with the provisions of the new constitution, to give full play to the powers and functions of the local organ of state power, to build a high degree of socialist democracy and to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization.

CSO: 4005/202

## PARTY AND STATE

### JIANGSU NPC DELEGATE ON NEW CONSTITUTION

OW052353 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0738 GMT 1 Dec 82

[Newsletter by XINHUA reporter Zhou Aiguo on interview with NPC Deputy Qian Songyan]

[Excerpts] Beijing, 1 Dec (XINHUA)--[Passage omitted] At the living quarters of the Jiangsu Provincial delegation to the Fifth Session of the Fifth NPC, this reporter interviewed NPC delegate Qian Songyan, a noted traditional Chinese landscape painter. [passage omitted]

Qian Songyan said: "I am 84 this year, an age spanning 3 dynasties, from the late Qing Dynasty to the new China." Counting on his fingers, the old man told me: "After experiencing and seeing so many things, both past and present, I am convinced that the socialist system is the best."

Sighing with emotion, our revered comrade, as a witness to history, continued: "Vice Chairman Pen Zhen said in his report that there were four great historical events during the earth-shaking historical changes taking place in China in the 20th century. From these historical events, the Chinese people have arrived at basic conclusions: without the CPC, there could be no new China, and only socialism can save China. What truths they are!" [passage omitted]

Our revered Qian continued: "After spending more than half a century of my life under several different dynasties, at long last I have seen hope and come to realize that the way to a prosperous and strong China lies in the party's leadership and socialism. The inclusion of the four basic principles in the draft revised constitution is a major event of unusual significance. They are an historical summation of the bloody battles fought by the Chinese people since the opium wars. They will serve as an impetus behind the advancement of China's socialism." [passage omitted]

While talking our revered Qian chuckled loudly. He then changed the topic of conversation: "In this excellent situation, I still have many things to do. I have completed a number of rare finger paintings, which will be published soon. I also want to sum up my painting experience and sort out my work.... The old horse is still attempting a 100,000-li journey. I want to give whatever strength still left to me to the motherland and the people."

Before saying good-bye in the corridor, our revered Qian pulled this reporter aside and whispered in his ear: "Tell you a secret. Just a while back, I applied for party membership. With all sincerity, I want to follow the party to the end."



## PARTY AND STATE

### SHANDONG CADRES STUDY DOCUMENTS AT PARTY SCHOOL

SK271208 Jian DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 3 Nov 82 p 1

[Text] The first class for studying the documents of the 12th CPC Congress sponsored by the party school of the provincial CPC committee and attended by leading cadres at and above the county level concluded recently after a 35-day term. Taking Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening address as a general guiding ideology, the study class studied other documents of the congress as well as some articles from the "Selected Important Documents Since the Third Plenary Session" and the "Selected Articles of Comrade Chen Yun." Based on the specific situations in their own localities, the participants animatedly discussed their understanding of the documents after the study and have thus enhanced their awareness, clarified their orientation, steeled their confidence, plucked up their spirit and unified their thinking in line with the guidelines of the documents.

The study class paid attention to combining the study of the documents with five other jobs and achieved fairly good results.

1. Combine the study of the documents with the review of the party's history and experiences to deepen the understanding of the historical position and great significance of the 12th CPC Congress. The participants systematically compared this historical change with our party's history of the period of democratic revolution from the failure of the northern expedition to the breakout of the agrarian revolutionary way and from the failure of the fifth anti-"encirclement and suppression" to the breakout of the war of resistance against Japan, and summed up historical experiences. They said: The Third Plenary Session was a "Zunyi meeting" of the socialist construction period and the 12th CPC Congress was as important as the "7th CPC Congress." As the "7th CPC Congress" led the revolution to a victory, the 12th CPC Congress will certainly lead the construction to a victory. We should have a high degree of awareness and persistence to accomplish the correct program set forth by the 12th CPC Congress.
2. Combine the study of the documents with the study of the important documents of the CPC Central Committee since its Third Plenary Session and with the review of the practices since the Third Plenary Session to enhance the awareness in showing political unity with the CPC central committee. Based on the actual situations in the whole country and in their specific localities,

the participants animatedly discussed the great changes in various fields that have taken shape since the Third Plenary Session. They held that they more systematically understand the party's line adopted since the Third Plenary Session and more thoroughly understand the guidelines of the 12th CPC Congress. Many comrades analyzed and summed up the reasons why they "have lagged behind in ideology" over the past 4 years. They learned the correct way of understanding things by seeing through appearances to get at essences, became more convinced of the correctness of the line adopted since the Third Plenary Session and trusted more deeply the CPC Central Committee.

3. Combine the study of the documents with the study of economic development at home and abroad to steel confidence in fulfilling the strategic goal of the economic construction. At the beginning of the study, some comrades, having no idea of the strategic goal of the economic construction, analogized the "3-fold increase" of industrial and agricultural output value in 20 years with the high targets of 1958 and 1978. During study and discussions, the participants placed emphasis on the following work: 1) Draw a clear line of demarcation between "high targets," "great plans" and the scientific target of "3-fold increase," 2) List the data on the increase of our industrial and agricultural output value during the past 30 years and the material foundations we have established to ensure the possibility for the "3-fold increase"; 3) Discuss the excellent situation in the economic development of the country and their specific localities to see the objective conditions for the fulfillment of the strategic goal; and 4) Analyze the ways to fulfill the strategic goal, which are to rely on the advance of science and technology, on expansion of reproduction and on improvement of economic results, to understand that the strategic goal is scientific. Through comparison and analysis, the participants unanimously held that the strategic goal set forth at the 12th CPC Congress is both grand, arduous and inspiring and realistic and scientific. As long as we adhere to the principles and policies for the economic construction set forth at the 12th CPC Congress and make persistent efforts, this grand goal will surely be achieved.

4. Combine the study of the documents with the study of some theories on scientific socialism to fully understand the strategic significance in building the socialist spiritual civilization and prompting socialist democracy. During the study and discussions, the participants studied anew the Marxist scientific socialist theories on the characteristics of the socialist society, on socialist democracy and on the class struggle in the period of socialism. They came to understand that regarding the construction of a high degree of socialist spiritual civilization with communist ideology and its core as a strategic principle and as an important characteristic of socialism and regarding the establishment of a high degree of socialist democracy as a guarantee and foundation for building the "two civilizations" and as one of our basic goals and basic tasks are scientific summing-up of China's socialist construction and are the application and development of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong thought under new historical conditions. They were determined to unswervingly take the road of comprehensively building socialism, which integrates the four modernizations, the highly developed socialist spiritual civilization and the highly developed socialist democracy.

5. Combine the study of the documents with a review of their own ideology and workstyle to enhance their awareness in striving to be qualified party members in accordance with the party constitution. Through the study of the sixth part of Comrade Hu Yaobang's report and the new party constitution, the participants clarified the characteristics and the needs of the new historical period, the new stipulations of the new party constitution and the four problems that should be properly solved in order to strengthen party building, thus becoming more confident and clear about the criteria. Many comrades measured their own thinking and workstyle against the yardstick of the new party constitution. They were determined to set strict demands on themselves on the basis of the criteria of the new party constitution, earnestly practice what they advocate, strive to be qualified communist party members and party cadres, inspire their revolutionary spirit and contribute to a fundamental turn for the better in party workstyle and to a new situation in socialist modernization.

CSO: 4005/202

PARTY AND STATE

PEOPLE'S CONGRESS MEETING CLOSES 10 NOV 82

SK110927 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 10 Nov 82

[Text] The 17th Standing Committee Meeting of the Provincial People's Congress came to an end on 10 November. It decided that the Fifth Session of the Fifth Provincial People's Congress will be held in Jinan in December. The plenary meeting, which was held on 10 November, adopted a decision on holding the Fifth Session of the Fifth Provincial People's Congress, a decision on approving the principle the tentative regulations concerning the administration of urban construction in Shandong Province, a decision on dismissing (Chi Jingde) from his post as deputy to the Fifth National People's Congress and a report on the appointment and removal of personnel. The meeting also approved a decision on extending the time limit for detaining 12 defendants that are held in custody that had been submitted to the congress for approval by the provincial people's procuratorate.

The plenary meeting held on 10 November was chaired by Zhao Lin, chairman of the Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee. Vice Chairmen Zhao Feng, Zhang Ye, Chen Lei, Zhang Zhusheng, Yang Jieren, Zhu Benzhen, Zhang Fugui, Zhou Zhijun, Wang Jiechen and Wang Baomin attended the meeting. Song Yimin, deputy governor, and responsible persons of the provincial higher people's court, the provincial people's procuratorate, and the provincial government departments concerned, as well as responsible persons of the people's congress standing committees of municipalities that are under the direct administration of the province and some countries and cities attended the meeting as observers.

CSO: 4005/202

## PARTY AND STATE

### SHANDONG OFFICIAL ON RECTIFICATION OF PARTY ORGANIZATIONS

SK130942 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 12 Nov 82

[Text] In an interview with our reporter, (Tao Mosheng)--Deputy director of the organizational department of the provincial CPC committee--pointed out that we should make proper preparations for the overall rectification of party style under the guidance of the guidelines of the 12th Party Congress so as to effect a fundamental turn for the better in the style of our party. Comrade (Tao Mosheng) said: The style of a political party in power determines its very survival. The 12th Party Congress urged the whole party to make a fundamental turn for the better in the coming 5 years in the financial and economic situation, in standards of social conduct and in party style. The key to achieving this goal lies in the fundamental improvement of party style.

Comrade (Tao Mosheng) said: During the 10 years of domestic turmoil, our party's ideology, style and organization were seriously damaged. However, because our party is armed with the great Marxist theory, we have ample capacity on our side to triumph over evil influences and restore our pure tradition.

Achievements scored since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee make us confident in our victory in consolidating the party organizations and party style. First of all, the correct leadership of the party central committee is a guarantee to achieving a fundamental improvement in party style. Next, our party has accomplished the task of setting the party's guiding ideology to rights and has defined again the correct line of Marxism. We have had the resolutions of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the report of the 12th Party Congress and the new party constitution. All these facts show that the whole party has laid a foundation for unifying thinking and has discovered criteria for distinguishing right and wrong. In addition, thanks to several years of education and rectification, leading bodies at all levels have been reorganized and strengthened, the party's discipline inspection work has been intensified and noticeable improvements have been made in party organizations and in party style. All these have created the basis for carrying out an overall rectification of party organizations.

Comrade (Tao Mosheng) said: In light of the instructions of the party central committee and the arrangements of the provincial CPC committee, we must adopt a prudent policy, make proper preparations and consolidate the party organizations step by step in a planned way. In the coming winter-spring period, we should stress the following tasks:

1. Organize large numbers of party members to conscientiously study the documents of the 12th Party Congress. Party organizations at all levels and, in particular, members of leading bodies at all levels should, with the spirit of rectifying party style, review and sum up their ideology, work and style since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, conduct criticism and self-criticism and sum up experiences and lessons so as to enhance the fighting capacity of party organizations. All party members should measure themselves by the standards of communists as stipulated by the new party constitution and by the standards of the eight-point duties so as to heighten their awareness of communism and become qualified communist members.
2. Achieve success in the experimental work of consolidating leading party organizations, train key members with the experience gained in the experimental work and prepare the ground for the overall rectification of party organizations in 1983.
3. Make a thorough investigation of the situations in party organizations and party-member contingent. To this end, we should continue to consolidate the grassroots party organizations of some enterprises and in some rural areas so as to lay a good foundation for next year's overall rectification.

Comrade (Tao Mosheng) said: Party organizations at all levels should start from now on to solve the problems which most urgently need solution. Large numbers of party members and, in particular, responsible comrades of party organizations should start, from now on and from themselves, to make good preparations through actual practice for next year's overall rectification of party organizations and strive to effect a fundamental turn for the better in the style of the party.

CSO: 4005/202

## PARTY AND STATE

### SHANDONG URGES ENHANCING OF WINTER-SPRING SECURITY WORK

SK260900 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 25 Nov 82

[Excerpts] According to DAZHONG RIBAO, the public security commission under the provincial CPC committee sponsored a telephone conference on the evening of 24 November to make arrangements for the public security work in the winter-spring period. At the conference, Su Yiran, secretary of the provincial CPC committee and governor of the province, made a report relaying the speech given by Chen Pixian, secretary of the CPCCC secretariat, at the telephone conference sponsored by the public security commission under the CPC central committee.

Gao Keting, secretary of the provincial CPC committee, presided over the conference and delivered a speech on implementing the guidelines of the telephone conference sponsored by the CPCCC public security commission and on grasping well the provincial public security work in the period.

In his speech, Comrade Gao Keting first referred to the current public security situation of the province. He stated: Under the leadership of the party committees and the people's governments at all levels, our province has done a great deal of work and scored marked achievements in this regard, resulting in an obvious turn for the better in public security. He emphatically pointed out: whether we can achieve a success in public security work in the winter-spring period has a vital bearing on stabilizing and carrying forward the effectiveness scored in public security work this year and on achieving a further success in this regard next year. [passage omitted]

In his speech, he urged localities across the province to do a good job in fulfilling the following tasks:

1. It is necessary, by regarding the law as a weapon, to deal strict blows at active counterrevolutionary activities and social crimes. Vicious criminals should be strictly punished in a timely manner and according to the laws. By no means shall we be softhearted in dealing with their cause. [passage omitted]
2. It is necessary to vigorously implement the measures of consolidating public security in a comprehensive way and establish and improve various responsibility systems concerning public security work. Efforts should be made to

strengthen the work to conduct education among youths and implement the measures of reforming misled youths. [passage omitted]

3. While grasping well the public security work in the winter-spring period, the departments of public security, procuratorial offices, the people's courts, judicial affairs and civil affairs, under the unified leadership of the party committees at all levels, should thoroughly implement the guidelines of the national public security work conference, earnestly attend their own duties, make concerted efforts and improve their workstyle so as to bring into full play the role of their function.

4. To do a good job in conducting public security work is a social issue of complicated character. In dealing with the work, we cannot rely only on the public security departments. The party committees at all levels should practically strengthen their leadership over the work and successfully deal with the relation between production and devotion to public security work. [passage omitted]

In conclusion, Comrade Gao Keting urged localities across the province to immediately go into action to earnestly implement the guidelines of the telephone conferences respectively sponsored by the province and the central authorities, bearing in mind the actual local situation, to grasp the public security work in the winter-spring period in a down-to-earth manner and to strive to create a new situation in the provincial public security work.

CSO: 4005/202



## PARTY AND STATE

### SHANDONG URGES REORGANIZATION OF ORGANS

SK300135 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 27 Nov 82

[Text] According to our reporters, on the morning of 26 November, the Shandong Provincial CPC Committee sponsored a meeting with the participation of the cadres from the provincial level units at or above section level to arouse the participants to do a good job in devising ways to successfully restructure provincial level organs so as to make efforts to create a new situation in the province's socialist modernization.

Attending the meeting were responsible comrades of the provincial CPC committee, the provincial people's congress standing committee, the provincial people's government and the provincial CPPCC committee, including Su Yiran, Gao Qiyun, Li Zichao, Wang Jinshan, Xu Leijian, Lin Ping, Chen Lei, Zhang Zhusheng, Yang Jieren, Wang Baomin, Liu Peng, Liu Zhongqian, Ding Fangming, Wang Zhe, Yu Xiu, Li Sijing and Wang Liang.

Gao Qiyun, secretary of the provincial CPC committee, presided over the meeting. Su Yiran, secretary of the provincial CPC committee and governor of the province, delivered a mobilization speech.

Comrade Su Yiran stated: According to the central authorities' arrangements and the 12th CPC Congress guidelines, the provincial CPC committee has decided through careful consideration to start the reorganization of provincial level organs from November this year and to basically complete the task in this regard on the eve of the spring festival. The reorganization of organs at prefectural and municipal level will be completed before the end of June 1983. The province will continue reorganizing organs at county and commune levels in the later half of 1983.

Comrade Su Yiran pointed out: On the premise of success or failure in building the four modernizations and or rise or fall of the party and the country, we should fully understand the importance, necessity and urgency of restructuring organs. The 12th CPC Congress has put forward the strategic tasks of creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization and quadrupling the annual industrial and agricultural output value by the end of this century. These new tasks urgently require strong and outstanding leading organs to carry them out. Judging from the current situation prevailing in our provincial level organs, overlapping and overstaffed phenomena are common.

Quite a few organs have meager administrative functions and indulge in red tape procedures. Leading bodies and cadres generally have an average age on the older side and have their cultural standard and professional knowledge on the low side. The bureaucratic workstyle in which officials cut themselves off from the masses and from reality is very serious. All of this is impossible to meet the needs of the new situation and new tasks. If we fail to conduct structural reform, it will be impossible to smoothly implement the party's line, principles and policies and to achieve cooperation between new and old cadres and a replacement of old with new. As a result, it will be difficult to create a new situation in modernizations and to fulfill various combat tasks set forth by the 12th CPC Congress. It will be very possible to adversely affect the great cause. Therefore, each comrade should enhance his consciousness and sense of urgency to enthusiastically plunge into the drive of restructuring organizations by being highly responsible for the party and the people.

Comrade Su Yiran pointed out: In reorganizing the provincial level organs, general principles and demands are to regard the 12th CPC Congress guidelines as a guide; to restructure organs to be favorable for implementing the party's line, principles and policies, for creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization, for enforcing and improving the party's leadership and for fully playing the role of organizational function; to have leading bodies revolutionized and full of young members with cultural and specialized knowledge; to enable organs to take responsibility and solve problems independently, to combat bureaucracy and to upgrade work efficiency; to curtail as much as possible the overstaffed sections under departments, leading administrative levels and the number of personnel in charge of additional and multiple work and of systems and methods for leading echelons with the improvement of cadres systems; and to take an all-round consideration and make a comprehensive arrangement. Following the structural reform, it will be assured that the establishment of all organizations is scientific; the division of work among duties is clear; the organizational structure is rational, and that leading bodies and personnel are outstanding and capable.

Comrade Su Yiran emphatically pointed out: This structural reform only focuses on dealing with the issues of structural systems and not on dismissing specific personnel. However, the task is heavy and will affect the situation as a whole. It is inevitable to involve all old, middle-aged and young cadres and every worker in organizations. The party committees and leading party members' groups of various departments, therefore, should practically enhance their leadership over the reform, discern and grasp the ideological trend in a timely manner, conduct ideological work aiming at specific problems and boldly criticize and combat various evil trends and malpractices. By conducting ideological work in various fields, those few comrades who take the drive too hard should be guided to truly look on the bright side of things so that they are able to straighten their attitude toward the drive, to steel their confidence and determination in the structural reform, to enhance their sense of the situation as a whole and to cast away their selfish ideas and personal considerations so as to assure the smooth progress of restructuring organizations.

PARTY AND STATE

PROVINCIAL CPPCC COMMITTEE STANDING COMMITTEE SESSION

SK020150 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 1 Dec 82

[Text] The 19th Standing Committee Meeting of the 4th Provincial CPPCC Committee was held in Jinan from 29 November to 1 December. The meeting decided to hold the Fifth Plenary Session of the Fourth Provincial CPPCC Committee in Jinan in mid-December. Committee members attending the meeting conscientiously and fully discussed the draft work report of the standing committee of the Fourth Provincial CPPCC Committee and set forth opinions on the work of the provincial CPPCC committee in the past year and on how to create a new situation in the work of the people's CPPCC in order to bring into better play the role of the united front in the new period.

The meeting unanimously adopted the resolution on holding the Fifth Plenary Session of the Fourth Provincial CPPCC Committee and discussed the agenda of the forthcoming session. Gao Keting, chairman of the provincial CPPCC committee, chaired and spoke at the meeting. Wang Zhe, Yu Xiu, Li Sijing, Tian Haishan, Wang Liang, Jiang Guodong and Fang Yusui, vice chairmen of the provincial CPPCC committee, attended the meeting.

CSO: 4005/202

## PARTY AND STATE

### YANG YICHEN SPEECH ON SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION

SK260814 Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 2 Nov 82 p 1

[Text] At the Sixth Plenary Session of the Fourth Provincial CPC Committee, Comrade Yang Yichen, first secretary of the provincial CPC committee, pointed out that we must strive to build the socialist spiritual civilization with communist ideas as its core.

Comrade Yang Yichen said: The 12th National Party Congress clearly pointed out that while building a high level of material civilization, efforts must be made to strive to build a high level of socialist spiritual civilization. We must understand the great significance of building socialist spiritual civilization from the high plane of scientific socialist theories and from the development prospects of China's socialist construction undertakings and realistically place it in a most important position in the work of leaders at all levels. The construction of socialist spiritual civilization has a substantial content. At present, we must particularly grasp the following work well.

First, we must actively attend to communist ideological education. The 12th Party Congress called for efforts to "adopt all effective methods, and through all possible ways, to universally conduct education on ideals, ethics and discipline among all people in China and particularly among youths in 5 years." This is a fundamental condition for fostering working people with ideals, ethics, culture and a sense of discipline as well as a radical measure for achieving a fundamental turn for the better in social habits. At present, we must strengthen education on the basic theories of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong thought, on the history of the motherland, specially modern history, on the party program, the party history and the party's revolutionary traditions and on democracy and the legal system, citizen's rights, citizen's obligations and the citizen's morality. We must proceed from the local realities and make over-all planning and proper arrangements for conducting elementary education and set forth different demands in accordance with different localities. Ideological education on serving the people wholeheartedly must be conducted and stressed among the party members and the cadres; education on the working class's historical mission and the ideology of being masters of the country must be conducted among the workers; education on giving overall consideration to the interests of the state, the collectives and the individuals must be conducted among peasants; education on correctly

treating personal fame and gain must be conducted among intellectuals; and education on "cherishing the state, the collective and socialism" must be conducted among youths. Through education, we must make the party members and the masses really understand that communism is an inexorable law of the development of the history of mankind and, to understand the difference and relations between the communist ideological system and the communist social system and the relationship between communist ideological education and the policies of the socialist stage. Party members and the masses must foster and strengthen their confidence in socialism, clearly understand the meaning of life and consciously integrate their work with the grand communist objective so as to always maintain a vigorous fighting spirit. In regard to educational methods, we must integrate educational dissemination with self-education. At the same time, we must build a rank of ideological and political workers that have combat strength and whose sayings are very convincing and attractive. They must undertake the task of conducting communist education throughout the province very well and must contribute to building a high level of socialist spiritual civilization.

Second, we must continue to carry out extensive and in-depth spiritual civilization activities on "five stresses and four beauties" and must regularize and systematize such activities. For a period of time, our province has carried out activities on "five stresses and four beauties," "civility and courtesy month," and "learning from Lei Feng and fostering new habits" in the urban and rural areas, which have played an important role in enhancing the people's spiritual level, fostering revolutionary ethics and values, promoting an improvement in party work style and social habits, and establishing and developing socialist human relations of a new type. In the days to come, the stress of the "five-stresses and four beauties" activities still will be on improving sanitation, social order and service, but we must achieve a new improvement in this regard. All localities and departments, must set forth specific ways for holding activities on "five stresses and four beauties" step by step and in line with actual situations and must organize the masses to take part in the activities, thus enabling the mass activities on building socialist spiritual civilization to be deeply carried out. We must further mobilize the masses to consciously formulate and observe rules for students, rules for staff and workers and for commune members, rules for peasants and pledges given by all trades and professions. We must extensively conduct activities on creating "civilized streets," "civilized villages," "civilized plants," "civilized shops," "civilized schools," and "five-good production teams," "five-good families," and "five-good commune members," and urge the masses to carry out activities on building socialist spiritual civilization in their production, work study, livelihood and families and popularize such activities to all quarters in society.

Third, we must actively develop cultural and educational undertakings. Education is the precondition for building material and spiritual civilizations. Without culture, science and technology, it is impossible to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization and to achieve a quadruple increase in the industrial and agricultural output value. Comrades at all levels must further enhance their understanding of the importance of educational work and actively create a new situation in this field. Prior to 1985, we must actively popularize elementary education and junior middle school

education in urban areas and in rural areas where conditions permit. We must actively reform secondary education, develop all kinds of vocational education with an emphasis on developing urban and rural vocational middle schools and strive to achieve the goal that, by 1985, the total number of students of urban and rural vocational middle schools will account for 50 percent of the total number of students in senior middle schools. We must actively and steadily develop higher education. In addition to running the existing full-time universities well and gradually increasing the number of students to be enrolled, we must actively develop broadcast, television, correspondence and spare-time universities. All prefectures, municipalities and counties that have conditions may run short-term vocational universities that do not provide boarding and are not responsible for assigning jobs. It is necessary to include education for cadres, staff and workers and peasants in the national education plan. All prefectures, municipalities, counties and departments must, revise and formulate plans for cadre educational work in accordance with the guidelines of the recent decision of the central authorities and the state council on the cadre educational work of the central party and government organs, and strive to achieve a marked improvement in the political and professional standards of the cadre ranks in 3 to 5 years. Prior to 1985, we must complete the work of "making up missing lessons in two fields of study" (cultural and technological lessons) among enterprises. At present, about 20 percent of the province's peasants are illiterate. We must strive to fulfill the task of wiping out illiteracy in 3 to 5 years and do a good job in fostering and improving the teaching standards of teachers. Party organizations, government units, enterprises and establishments at all levels must actively support the work-study program. We must integrate the reform of the educational system with that of the labor system and gradually improve the worker recruitment method.

Fourth, we must strengthen socialist democracy and the legal system. Building a high level of socialist democracy is one of our fundamental objectives and tasks as well as an important guarantee for building the socialist material and spiritual civilizations. We must promote socialist democracy in our political, economic, cultural and social activities and all quarters. We must give full rein to the role of the people's congresses and the organs of power of the people's congress standing committees at all levels, intensify legislative work in the localities and strengthen supervision over the work of the local people's governments, the people's court and the people's procuratorates so as to ensure the implementation of the institution, the law and the party's policies. We must pay attention to accumulating and summing up the experiences in improving the local people's congress system and the building of the organs of power of the people's congress standing committees, strengthen ties with the people's deputies and give full rein to their role. It is necessary to strengthen united front work, earnestly implement the principle of "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision," "showing utter devotion to friends," and "sharing in both honor and disgrace," further implement all united front work policies, strengthen unity among various nationalities and cooperation with various democratic parties, nonparty democrats and all patriotic personages and give full rein to their role in creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. We must strengthen work concerning Taiwan in order to promote the unification of the motherland,

conscientiously sum up experiences in instituting the workers' congress system and strengthen democratic management of all enterprises, establishments and units. We must be good at promoting democracy while urging the people to conduct self-education, establish in line with democratic principles the relations between men on an equal basis and the relationship between the individuals and society, guarantee the realization of the proper democratic rights of the citizens and the interests of the state, the society and the collectives and ensure that freedom and rights of the individuals will not be infringed upon. We must repeatedly conduct propaganda and education on the legal system among the people, organize the people to study the new constitution which will be adopted soon, continuously enhance the people's understanding of the great significance of building the legal system and their consciousness in enforcing and observing law. We must educate and supervise the broad masses of party members to take the lead in observing constitution and law. All activities of the party organizations and the party members must not go against the constitution and the law of the state. We must put cadres in a correct relationship to the people, while heartily serving the people, be one with the masses, be concerned with the well-being of the masses, respect the creative initiative of the masses and pay attention to the letters and visits of the people. We must conduct ruthless struggle against those cadres, especially leading cadres of some localities and units, who abuse their power and positions to seek private interests and even to suppress and infringe upon the democratic rights of the people.

CSO: 4005/202



## PARTY AND STATE

### HEILONGJIANG RADIO CALLS FOR ENHANCED RURAL IDEO-POLITICAL WORK

SK130934 Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 12 Nov 82

[Station commentary: "Strengthen Rural Ideological and Political Work in Real Earnest"]

[Text] Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out in his report to the 12th Congress that effective party work among the 800 million peasants is a major prerequisite for the achievement of modernization. Practice has also shown the incorrectness of the ideas that since grain production is contracted to households, cadres may wash their hands of agricultural matters and that with contracts, quota and reward systems in implementing ideological and political work are not needed anymore.

Under the new circumstances, what should we do to strengthen ideological and political work in the countryside? The party committee of (Xiangnan) commune has very important experience in this regard, that is, conducting ideological and political work around the various tasks in the countryside and the current rural policy. Following the third plenary session, the party has formulated a number of policies aimed at making the peasants prosper and encouraged them to prosper as quickly as possible. Some hail these policies, others have misgivings and still others, fearing that the policies will change, would rather wait and see. In view of this, the party committee of (Xiangnan) commune convened in good time a prosperity-through-hard-work rally to commend representative cases of achieving prosperity through hard work. Commune members who had been criticized in the years when the gang of four ran amok for having achieved some degree of prosperity were rehabilitated at the rally. In so doing the party committee effectively publicized the party's policy.

In recent years, many cadres and commune members have held the wrong idea that the crackdown on the serious crimes in the economic sphere is a signal of change and retraction of the party's policy. In view of this, the party committee of (Xiangnan) commune immediately organized party members and cadres of the commune to study relevant documents to make them understand clearly that the crackdown on serious criminal activities in the economic sphere is entirely different from the cutting of the tail of capitalism in the heyday of Lin Biao and the gang of four. Thus, the party members and cadres freed themselves from doubts and misgivings and acquired a clear understanding of policy. With



extensive propaganda, the masses were reassured and their confidence in becoming prosperous through hard work was strengthened.

The experience of the party committee of (Xiangnan) commune in carrying out ideological and political work around the various tasks in the countryside and the current farm is worth emulating.

CSO: 4005/202

## PARTY AND STATE

### HEILONGJIANG PARTY MEETING CALLS FOR COMMUNIST EDUCATION

SK150852 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 13 Nov 82

[Text] On 14 November HEILONGJIANG RIBAO prints on the upper half of its frontpage the text of a resolution adopted by the sixth enlarged plenary session of the Fourth Heilongjiang Provincial CPC Committee on strengthening education in communist ideology.

The resolution states: It is the tradition of our party to educate party members and the masses in communist ideology. However, the great chaos in the people's minds caused by the influence of the communist wind and other leftist ideologies in the latter half of the 1950's and particularly the bogus communism preached by Lin Biao, the gang of four and their ilk in the decade of internal turmoil, has not been completely resolved. Moreover, the corrosive influence of the ideology of the exploitive classes has somewhat increased in recent years under the new historical situation of opening our door to the outside world and stimulating the economy internally. Therefor, while building a highly developed material civilization, it is imperative to strive to build the socialist spiritual civilization and vigorously strengthen education in communist ideology.

The resolution is divided into four parts. The first part emphasizes that in strengthening education in communist ideology, it is necessary, first of all, to study, publicize and implement the 12th Congress documents in real earnest and carry out education on the party's line, principles and policies. Second, efforts should be made to enhance education in the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong thought. One of the fundamental tasks for education in communist ideology is to imbue the people with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong thought, raise their ideological level and increase their capacity for remoulding the world and creating new situations. Third, efforts should be made to strengthen education in the party constitution, the basics of the party and the qualifications of communist party members.

It is essential to organize the entire party membership to study the reports to the 12th Congress and the new party constitution. The resolution on certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the People's Republic of China, the guiding principles governing inner-party political life and some works of Marx, Lenin and Comrade Mao Zedong. Fourth, it is essential to strengthen education in communist ethics. Efforts should be made to

carry out education among the masses and particularly the youths and juveniles in cherishing the motherland and the people and loving work, science and socialism. Education in professional ethics and professional discipline should be conducted in all trades and all professions. Five-stress and four-beauty activities should be carried out in the whole society to promote civility and politeness. Fifth, efforts should be made to enhance education in resisting corrosive influence. Conducting education in communist ideology calls for continuous struggle against the ideologies and moral values of the exploitive classes, the force of old habits and anti-Marxist ideological trends of all shades. Conducting education in resisting corrosive influences in connection with the crackdown on the rampant criminal activities in the economic and other fields is an important part of the education for strengthening communist ideology.

The second part of the resolution says that to successfully carry out education in communist ideology we must correctly handle the following relationships:

1) The relationship between conducting education in communist ideology, on the one hand, and implementing the principles and policies for the current stage of socialist construction, on the other; 2) The relationship between conducting education in communist ideology on the one hand and performing one's duty well at his post and fulfilling the fighting tasks at present, on the other; 3) The relationship between advocating the communist spirit of plain living and hard work and of sacrificing one's own interests for the sake of others, on the one hand, and caring for the livelihood of the masses and solving practical problems, on the other; 4) The relationship between enhancing communist ideological consciousness, on the one hand, and raising the levels of science and education, on the other; 5) There should be different requirements for communist party members, CYL members and advanced personages on the one hand and for the ordinary masses. At the socialist stage we should not expect every member of the society to be communists. We can only guide the masses to believe in communism through appeal, persuasion, education and visits to their homes. But from the moment he takes the oath that he is willing to dedicate his life to the cause of socialism, a communist party member should uphold communist ideology, communist ethics, communist spirit and the communist attitude toward labor. We must on no account lump together communist party members and ordinary people. We should demand communist ideology of communist party members, CYL members and all advanced personages and demand that they educate, influence and bring along the broad masses of people through their exemplary conduct.

The third part of the resolution discusses the principles and methods for conducting education in communist ideology. The fourth part emphasizes that the entire party membership should take part in and strengthen leadership over education in communist ideology.

## PARTY AND STATE

### ZHAO DEZUN STATES HIS VIEWS AT NPC SESSION

SK281010 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 27 Nov 82

[Text] According to XINHUA, Zhao Dezun, head of the Heilongjiang Provincial delegation to the Fifth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress and chairman of the provincial people's congress standing committee, talking to XINHUA reporters, said that the session is being held under a situation in which the people of various nationalities throughout the country are studying and implementing the 12th CPC Congress guidelines and making efforts to create a new situation in socialist modernization. The session will be able to further arouse the people of various nationalities to unite as one and to make concerted efforts to strive to fulfill various tasks set forth by the 12th CPC Congress.

Zhao Dezun stated: The session will examine and approve the new constitution and the Sixth 5-Year Economic Plan, which are the two big events to which the people throughout the country pay great attention. The constitution is the principal law for running the country well and giving the people peace and security. The approval of the revised draft of the constitution, which has more Chinese characteristics, has been repeatedly revised over the past 2 years and which has been carefully discussed by the entire people in order to pool the wisdom of the masses, will become a new long-term effective constitution needed in the new historic period and by the program for achieving socialist modernization. Following the approval of the revised draft of the constitution, the long-term order and peace in the country will assuredly be maintained under its implementation. Therefore, we should deeply study and actively publicize the new constitution, as well as earnestly implement and resolutely safeguard it.

Zhao Dezun stated: The Sixth 5-Year Economic Plan represents the first step for fulfilling the strategic target of quadrupling the industrial and agricultural output value by the end of this century and also the first step for laying a solid foundation for fulfilling this strategic target. We not only should have firm confidence in fulfilling the target within the 20 years, but should do our work in a down-to-earth manner in the first 5 years.

Zhao Dezun stated: Heilongjiang Province's deputies, before leaving for the session, have conducted both investigations and inspections among the grass-roots units of villages, plants, stores and schools and have extensively

solicited opinions from the masses. Many deputies have earnestly prepared their suggestions and motions for the session. They have expressed that they will certainly live up to the expectations of the 33 million people in the province by doing a good job in discussing issues that have the immediate interest of the people, by exercising their master's right for a well-run country, by exerting the highest enthusiasm in politics and by having a high sense of responsibility.

They have pledged to do a good job in studying and discussions during the session and to do a good job in publicizing and implementing the session's guidelines after returning to the province. They have also pledged to make new contributions to the development of socialist democracy, the improvement of socialist legal systems and to the program for achieving socialist modernization.

CSO: 4005/202

## PARTY AND STATE

### HEILONGJIANG MEETING ON IMPROVING PUBLIC SECURITY

SK280535 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 27 Nov 82

[Excerpts] On the evening of 26 November, the provincial CPC committee held a telephone meeting to implement the guidelines of the telephone meeting held by the public security committee of the CPC central committee. The meeting urged all localities throughout the province to conscientiously grasp public security work in the coming winter and spring on the basis of the [word omitted] in our province's favorable public security situation.

Attending the meeting were Li Lian, second secretary of the provincial CPC committee and Chen Junsheng and Wang Zhao, secretaries of the provincial CPC committee. Li Lian and Chen Junsheng spoke at the meeting. Deputy Governor Wei Zhimin presided over the meeting. [passage omitted]

Chen Junsheng said: Rectifying public security is important in effecting a fundamental turn for the better in the general mood of society. All localities must further acquire a deep understanding of the significance of public security. Party committees at all levels and public security departments should take the guidelines of the 12th Party Congress as the impetus for further implementing the guidelines of national and provincial public security work meetings and for conscientiously implementing the demands set forth at the telephone meeting of the public security committee of the CPC central committee. Efforts should be made to organize public security departments and strengthen all fronts to conduct general investigations on public security in both rural and urban areas of the province. We must sum up experiences to compare and commend a number of advanced units. If we discover any problems, we should tackle them within a limited time in the light of various categories of instruction.

Chen Junsheng stressed: The rectification of public security is a task for the entire party. We cannot rely on public security departments alone. Party committees must strengthen the leadership and divide the work to make overall plans and to mobilize and organize the strength of all fronts and all departments with a view to implementing all measures for tackling problems in a comprehensive way.

All public security departments should deal strict blows at illegal activities and serious criminal activities in the economic field, resolutely

implementing policies on imposing penalty according to the law. [passage omitted]

At the conclusion of the meeting, Comrade Li Lian stressed: 1) We should take both stopgap and radical measures to rectify public security and guard against unhealthy trends. Only by eliminating all problems can marked progress be made in our work. 2) We should strengthen the leadership of the party. Party committees should lead public security organizations to conscientiously implement the principles and policies of the party and to apply decrees in a correct way. We should conduct education among cadres and policemen to correct their thinking and shift their workstyle. Efforts should be made to mobilize and organize CYL departments and all departments to assume individual responsibility for comprehensively tackling problems in a concerted manner. Efforts should also be made to mobilize all party organizations to educate party members so that party members can play exemplary roles in rectifying public security and dedicate themselves to the struggle for effecting a fundamental turn for the better in public security. [passage omitted]

CSO: 4005/202

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'HEILONGJIANG RIBAO' ON IMPROVING PARTY WORKSTYLE

SK012337 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 30 Nov 82

[Text] Listeners, Sunwu County is one of the pilot counties and communes in our province selected for trial consolidation of party organization. Efforts to consolidate party organization in the county in the past year or so have yielded satisfactory results. Problems which the masses complain about most have been resolved and the masses note happily: good prospects are really in sight this time. On 30 November HEILONGJIANG RIBAO prints a detailed report on its second page on the consolidation of party organization in Sunwu County, and carries an accompanying commentator's article entitled: "Let the Masses Catch Sight of the Prospects."

The article says: Whether the unhealthy practices existing within our party can be eliminated or not is a matter of prime importance for which the masses show profound solicitude. The achievements of Sunwu County in consolidating party organization provide the masses a chance to catch sight of the prospects. As is shown by practice, all problems with regard to unhealthy practice within the party can be resolved proving leading cadres are determined to rectify the workstyle of the party and set a good example. The workstyle of the party has shown marked changes for the better since the third plenary session of the party. However, we must not underestimate the harmful effects of unhealthy practices on the faith of the masses.

The article emphatically points out: Only by consolidating the workstyle of the party well can we make the masses catch sight of the prospects. By catching sight of the prospects we mean an increase in the masses' confidence in the party which can be readily earned if we can solve all the problems that the masses complain about most, make healthy trends prevail and improve relations between the masses and cadres. Therefore, each party member, and leading cadres of the party in particular, should take the rectification of unhealthy practices as his responsibility, take the lead in this regard and take actions to combat unhealthy practices instead of paying lip service only. It is necessary to implement the new party constitution in earnest, play an exemplary and leading role as is required of party members, be a qualified party member and make contributions to effecting a fundamental turn for the better in the workstyle of the party.

CSO: 4005/202



## PARTY AND STATE

### HEILONGJIANG CONFERENCE ON TRAINING CYL CADRES

SK020101 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 1 Dec 82

[Text] At the Harbin Municipal Youth Work Conference, which concluded on 1 December, Li Lian, second secretary of the provincial CPC committee, said that all party and CYL committees should further strengthen youth work and train the masses of young people into people qualified for the four modernizations and as good successors to the revolution.

Comrade Li Lian said: Every one of us, the party's cadres, should first correct his workstyle so as to be a model for young cadres to learn from. The party's leading cadres at all levels should lead others of lower levels in workstyle rectification. Party committees should lead CYL committees and veteran cadres should lead new cadres, thus building a mighty contingent of CYL cadres with determined political integrity, fine workstyle and high work drive. In addition, all party and CYL committees should strengthen management of the contingent of CYL cadres and establish evaluation systems. Efforts should be made to promote to leading posts all CYL cadres who have both political integrity and abilities and make a success of the cooperation between new and old cadres and the succession of the old by the new, so as to enable the contingent of CYL cadres to better suit the needs arising from creating a new situation.

CSO: 4005/202

## PARTY AND STATE

### JILIN URGES ENHANCEMENT OF WINTER-SPRING SECURITY

SK261306 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 25 Nov 82

[Text] According to JILIN RIBAO, the public security commission under the Jilin Provincial CPC Committee sponsored a telephone conference on the evening of 24 November, urging localities in the province to practically consolidate the public security work in the winter-spring period so as to eliminate all obstruction and create conditions for the mission of creating a new situation in socialist modernization.

At the conference, Yang Zhantao, standing committee member of the provincial CPC committee, deputy secretary of the public security commission and deputy governor of the province, delivered a speech in which he stated: Our province has achieved obvious effectiveness in consolidating public security since early this year. However, it must be noted that the public security situation prevailing in the province is not stable and that we have not achieved a fundamental turn for the better in this regard and have not lowered the rate of serious crimes satisfactorily.

Comrade Yang Zhantao stated: In doing a good job in conducting public security work in the winter-spring period, the most important task for us is to strengthen the party committee's leadership over the work, to further implement the measures of consolidating public security in an all-round and comprehensive way and to concentrate our efforts in the period on organizing all forces to deal with areas which have more problems and lag behind in this regard. The stress of consolidating public security in a comprehensive way should be laid on doing a good job in grasping juvenile education and on eliminating ideological corrosive influence. In the winter-spring period, it is necessary to vigorously conduct the work to prevent youth delinquency and do a good job in consolidating public security and order inside the plants and enterprises. Efforts should be made to successfully enact responsibility systems concerning safety and security work and to distinctly set up typical examples for both commendation and punishment. In rural areas, it is necessary to generally enact written pledges for peasants and to do a good job in building civilized villages.

Comrade Yang Zhantao urged the public security departments at all levels to actively give full scope to their organizational function and to do their best in work in the winter-spring period by bearing in mind the core task of

achieving success in social order and peace. All-out efforts should be made to strengthen the build-up of grassroots units and basic work and give full scope to the function of public security, mediation and neighborhood committees so as to achieve a success in preventing crimes and the change of contradictions for the worse.

Comrade Yang Zhantao, in conclusion, urged localities across the province to strenuously go into action to enhance their vigor, to unite as one in waging struggles and to make new contributions to further striving to achieve a turn for the better in the public security work of the province and to creating a new situation in the public security work.

CSO: 4005/202

## PARTY AND STATE

### YUNNAN JOURNAL ON UNDERSTANDING CLASS STRUGGLE

HK101149 Kunming Yunnan SIXIANG ZHANXIAN in Chinese No 5, 24 Oct 82 pp 1-5

[Article by Shi Wen [2514 5113]: "Have a Correct Understanding of Class Struggle in Chinese Socialist Society--Some Thoughts on Studying the Report to the 12th CPC Congress"]

[Text] In his report delivered at the 12th CPC Congress on behalf of the party Central Committee, Comrade Hu Yaobang applied the basic tenets of Marxism in giving us a scientific exposition of class situation and class struggle in the new historical period of the Chinese socialist society and formulated the basic principle for the question of class struggle in China at the present stage. Each communist party member and revolutionary comrade must resolutely implement the basic principle formulated by the party Central Committee, correctly understand and handle the question of class struggle which still exists at this stage and work hard to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization.

#### Complications and Lapses in Understanding

Our party went through a tortuous course in its efforts to gain an understanding of the question of class struggle in socialist society.

In September 1956, the Eighth CPC Congress formally proclaimed that the period of revolutionary storm was over, that the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie was basically resolved, that the age-old history of the system of class exploitation was basically at an end and that the social system of socialism had largely been established in our country. Class struggle was no longer the principal contradiction in Chinese society. The main task of the people throughout the country was to develop the productive forces as quickly as possible, concentrate on economic construction and build China into a powerful and modern socialist country. However, until socialist transformation was completed, class struggle would continue. Even after it was completed, the struggle between socialist and capitalist stands, viewpoints and methods would go on for a long time and there would still be counterrevolutionaries and individuals who are hostile to socialism and who violate state laws. Thus, we must continue to strengthen the people's democratic dictatorship and strive to do a thorough job of socialist transformation, wipe out the system of exploitation once and for all and continue to eliminate the remnant forces of the counterrevolutionaries.

Through repeated tests of practice in the past two decades and more, we found that these viewpoints of the Eighth CPC Congress tallied with China's actual situation. It was a pity that these correct ideas were adhered to in practice. Since 1957 when the scope of the anti-rightist struggle was broadened, we drifted farther and farther away from the correct viewpoints of the Eighth CPC Congress. At the Third Plenary Session of the Eighth CPC Central Committee, we changed the correct formulation of the Eighth CPC Congress and advanced the theory that the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the contradiction between the socialist road and the capitalist road were the principal contradictions in Chinese society at that stage. During the period of the Lushan meeting, we erred in initiating the criticism of Comrade Peng Dehuai and then in launching a partywide struggle against "right opportunism." In describing the contention between differing views in the party as "a life-and-death struggle between the two antagonistic classes," the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, we extended the class struggle right into the party in 1962, the 10th Plenary Session of the 8th CPC Central Committee further broadened and universalized the class struggle by asserting that the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road and the danger of capitalist restoration would continue to exist throughout the historical period of socialism and that class struggle must be stressed every year, every month and every day. This not only broadened the scope of class struggle but greatly prolonged the existence of the bourgeoisie as a class. We then made the mistake of thinking that we had to "take class struggle as the key link" in everything we did. We even advanced the thesis that we should "purge those party persons in power taking the capitalist road" and tried to prove that these were the new characteristics of class struggle in the socialist period. In this way, the erroneous theory of class struggle was further systematized. This provided the ideological and theoretical grounds for the launching of the "Great Cultural Revolution," a so-called "revolution whereby one class overthrows another," in 1966.

History has come up with its conclusion. The "Great Cultural Revolution" carried out under the guidance of an erroneous theory of class struggle did not in fact constitute a revolution or social progress in any sense, nor could it possibly have done so. Many things denounced as revisionist or capitalist during the "Great Cultural Revolution" were actually Marxist and socialist principles. Many "capitalist-roaders" overthrown in the "Great Cultural Revolution" were leading cadres of party and government organizations at all levels. Many of the so-called "reactionary academic authorities" criticized in the "Great Cultural Revolution" were capable and accomplished intellectuals. The so-called theory of "continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" was also obviously inconsistent with the system of Mao Zedong Thought, which is the integration of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. The Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques capitalized on this erroneous theory and the mistakes made by our party on the question of class struggle to carry out counterrevolutionary sabotage for a whole decade and brought catastrophe to the party, the state and the people.

The great victory won in overthrowing the counterrevolutionary clique of Jiang Qing enabled our country to enter a new historical period of development. The 11th CPC Congress held in 1977 declared an end to the "Great Cultural Revolution," but did not promptly correct the errors on the question of class struggle. It

was not until the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee held in December 1978 that we began to conscientiously correct these errors. The third plenary session pointed out that there are still a handful of counterrevolutionaries and criminals in our country and we must on no account slacken our class struggle against them or loosen our grip on the dictatorship of the proletariat. At the same time, it firmly discarded the slogan "take class struggle as the key link" and declared that we should shift the focus of work to socialist modernization. The "resolution on certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the PRC" adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee in June 1981 made a penetrating analysis of the principal contradiction and the question of class struggle in socialist society. The resolution said: "Class struggle no longer constitutes the principal contradiction after the exploiters have been eliminated as classes. However, owing to certain domestic factors and influences from abroad, class struggle will continue to exist within certain limits for a long time to come and may even grow acute under certain conditions. It is necessary to oppose both the view that the scope of class struggle must be enlarged and the view that it has died out. It is imperative to maintain a high level of vigilance and conduct effective struggle against all those who are hostile to socialism and try to sabotage it in the political, economic, ideological and cultural fields and in community life. We must correctly understand that there are diverse social contradictions in Chinese society which do not fall within the scope of class struggle and that methods other than class struggle must be used for their appropriate resolution. Otherwise, social stability and unity will be jeopardized." The report to the 12th CPC Congress restated the correct views in the resolution of the sixth plenary Session on the question of class struggle. While stressing that class struggle no longer constitutes the principal contradiction in Chinese society, it analyzed in great detail the reasons why class struggle will continue to exist for a long time under certain conditions. It pointed out: "We must prepare ourselves mentally for a long-term struggle, see to it that the state of the people's democratic dictatorship exercises its function of dictatorship over enemies, and uphold the Marxist class viewpoint in handling the current social contradictions and other social phenomena that have the nature of class struggle."

Looking back on this period from the 8th CPC Congress to the 12th CPC Congress, we can see that our party went through a complicated course of correct--wrong--correct in its understanding of the question of class struggle in socialist society. These complications and relapses in understanding show that around the time of the Eighth CPC Congress, [phrase indistinct] Thus, the correct views put forth by the Eighth CPC Congress on the question of class struggle were soon criticized as erroneous notions. It was not until after we had paid a heavy price in the course of the past two decades and more that our party came round to recognizing the correctness of the views of the Eighth CPC Congress. With the constant deepening of understanding and the constant emergence of new conditions, our party's current understanding of the question of class struggle is naturally a lot more advanced compared with that during the time of the Eighth CPC Congress. The viewpoints on the question of class struggle in the report to the 12th CPC Congress are not only more scientific and precise in wording but are much more substantial and perfect in content. They give us scientific definitions for the target, role, characteristics, scope and trend of class struggle in socialist society and provide scientific answers to new

questions arising from the current class struggle. Based on the understanding that class struggle will continue to exist for a long time within certain limits and may even sharpen under certain conditions, the report to the 12th CPC Congress also put forward the basic principle with regard to the question of class struggle at the present stage. This is of great significance in that it helps us to correctly understand and handle the current social contradictions and other social phenomena that have the nature of class struggle.

#### Class Struggle Will Continue To Exist for a Long Time Within Certain Limits

Both the resolution of the 6th plenary session and the report to the 12th CPC Congress pointed out that following the elimination of the exploiting classes as such, class struggle will continue to exist for a long time within certain limits. This thesis will help prevent us from thinking that class struggle has died down following the elimination of the exploiting classes. Moreover, in confining the class struggle which will continue to exist for a long time within certain limits, it will also prevent us from repeating the mistake of enlarging the scope of class struggle.

Why is it that class struggle will continue to exist for a long time within certain limits following the elimination of the exploiting classes in our country? The report to the 12th CPC Congress pointed out: "This is not only because pernicious influences left over by the exploitative systems and classes cannot be eradicated within a short time, but also because we have not yet achieved our goal of reunifying our motherland and still live in a complicated international environment in which the capitalist forces and other forces hostile to our socialist cause will seek to corrupt us and harm our country. Our economy and culture are still quite backward and our young socialist system is imperfect in many ways, so that it is not yet possible to prevent the degeneration of some members of our society and party or block the emergence of a few exploiting and hostile elements." The above analysis tells us that there are domestic and international reasons as to why class struggle will continue to exist for a long time within certain limits. Domestically speaking, although the exploiting classes have been eliminated, there are still remnants of such classes and pernicious influences left over by the exploitative systems [word indistinct] classes will continue to exist for a long time. As Lenin said: "When the old society perishes, its corpse cannot be nailed up in a coffin and lowered into the grave. It disintegrates in our midst: the corpse rots and infects us." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 27, p 407) A host of facts seen in everyday life show that most of the criminals, degenerates, embezzlers, thieves and speculators have at one stage been a handful of wavering elements among the people and have evolved to become what they are because of serious corruption by the ideas of the exploiting classes. Moreover, our economy and culture are still quite backward, our socialist political and economic systems are still far from perfect and there is harmony as well as conflict between the socialist productive forces and the socialist relations of production and between the superstructure and the economic base, so that there are objective conditions for the handful of new exploitative and hostile elements to carry out criminal activities. At present, the class struggle in the economic sphere in our country this form: [as printed] some people have taken advantage of the loopholes in our policy of opening to the outside and our policies for invigorating the



economy domestically and have capitalized on our multiple forms of commodity production, on the weak links in commodity exchange and distribution and on the defects in our managerial system, to engage in acts of graft, theft, speculation and profiteering. The report to the 12th CPC Congress pointed out: "We must on no account rank all these things with the common run of offenses or anti-social acts, because they are important manifestations of class struggle under the new historical conditions in which we are pursuing a policy of opening to the outside and taking flexible measures to invigorate our economy domestically." Moreover, when we say that exploitative systems and classes have been eradicated, we are only referring to the Chinese mainland. Since we have not yet achieved our goal of reunifying our motherland, there still exists in Taiwan an exploitative system and an intact exploiting class. We are still faced with a struggle between forces promoting the peaceful reunification of the motherland and forces fighting against this cause. This struggle naturally falls into the category of class struggle. Viewed from an international perspective, domestic class struggles and international class struggles are closely related. We still live in a complicated international environment. Imperialism, hegemonism and other reactionary forces hostile to China have not given up their policies of aggression and war. The Soviet Union has stationed massive armed forces along the Sino-Soviet and Sino-Mongolian borders all the while. Vietnam has never ceased carrying out armed provocations along China's border. Some forces in the United States and Japan are still carrying out hostile activities against China. The security of our country is still under serious threat. Thus, the struggle will continue for a long time. Moreover, following the development of economic and cultural exchanges with foreign countries, hostile elements in the international arena will also take advantage of all possible channels to step up their economic, political and cultural infiltration and captivate some weak-willed people by peddling decadent bourgeois ideology and the bourgeois way of life. On account of the domestic and international reasons discussed above, class struggle will continue to exist in our country for a long time within certain limits.

Why then is it necessary to emphasize "within certain limits?" "Within certain limits" does not come from our subjective conjecture. It has objective grounds. This objectivity comes from an analysis of the state of class struggle in socialist society, particularly the state of class struggle in China at the present stage. The result of this analysis shows that class struggle is not omnipresent but exists within certain limits. By emphasizing the certain limits, we will avoid making the mistake of waging struggle blindly and thus confusing ourselves.

What is meant by "within certain limits?" At this stage, class struggle within certain limits refers chiefly to our struggle against hostile elements of different shades who are attempting to undermine or overthrow our socialist system in the economic, political, ideological, cultural and other social spheres. (These hostile elements include counterrevolutionaries, enemy agents, criminals of all descriptions who disrupt socialist order, degenerates, new exploitative elements who engage in graft, theft, speculation and profiteering, certain remnant forces of the "gang of four," a handful of unreformed landlords and rich peasants as well as certain remnant forces of other old exploiting classes.) We must unswervingly carry out this struggle through to the end.



This will provide us with an important guarantee that we can keep to the socialist road. In addition, class struggle within certain limits also includes our struggle against imperialism, hegemonism and all other reactionary forces hostile to China.

We should say that the scope of class struggle in China at the present stage is much smaller compared with the early post-liberation days and has also undergone changes since the basic completion of socialist transformation. In the first half of the 1950's, class contradiction was the principal contradiction in Chinese society. The movement to suppress bandits and oppose local tyrants, the land reform and the suppression and elimination of counterrevolutionaries were aimed at completely resolving the contradiction between the people on the one hand and the feudal landlord and rich peasant classes and bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie on the other. The movements against the "three evils" and "five evils" and the three major socialist transformations were aimed at resolving the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Relatively speaking, the scope of the class struggle was quite extensive at that time because the exploiting class existed as a class in itself and class struggle constituted the principal contradiction in the country. Thus, our confrontation against the landlords, rich peasants and capitalists was nationwide and assumed the form of large-scale, turbulent mass struggle. Following the basic completion of China's socialist transformation in 1956, the exploiting classes were eliminated and class contradiction was relegated to a secondary position. The scope of class struggle was naturally reduced. However, at that time the landlords and rich peasants were still undergoing reform and the capitalists were still receiving fixed interests on their assets. They were in the process of changing from exploiters to laborers. The situation is different now. After going through struggle and education for nearly 30 years, most of the able-bodied landlords, rich peasants and capitalists have transformed themselves into laborers on their own toil. The position of the Chinese working class has been greatly strengthened. The Chinese peasants have now become collective farmers with a history of more than 20 years behind them. The Chinese intellectuals have become a part of the working class. Owing to these profound changes in China's class situation, the scope of class struggle is of course greatly reduced. At present, most contradictions in our society are those that do not have the nature of class struggle, like those between right and wrong, between the advanced and the backward. There are also some social contradictions and other social phenomena that have the nature of class struggle. As long as we strictly distinguish between class struggle and other social contradictions that do not have the nature of class struggle, we will be able to confine class struggle within certain limits.

We must conscientiously draw lessons from the "Great Cultural Revolution." The Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques enlarged the scope of class struggle without limits. They claimed that the old capitalist class not only still existed but had engendered a new bourgeoisie and that there was even a bourgeois class inside the party. They said that the landlords and rich peasants not only still hung around unreconciled but would go on for generations to come. They described socialist collective farmers as "small producers" that "engender capitalism and the bourgeoisie daily and hourly." They even equated socialist

intellectuals with bourgeois intellectuals. As they saw it, the exploiting classes were growing from strength to strength rather than being eliminated; the scope of class struggle was expanding rather than being narrowed. In the name of intensifying the class struggle, they frenziedly persecuted the cadres and masses to pave the way for their usurpation of party and state power. We must get a clear understanding of class struggle in our country at the present stage and establish the viewpoint that class struggle will continue to exist for a long time within certain limits in order to avoid committing "left" or right errors on the question of class struggle.

#### Class Struggle May Even Sharpen Under Certain Conditions

While pointing out that class struggle will continue to exist for a long time within certain limits, the report to the 12th CPC Congress also pointed out that class struggle may even sharpen under certain conditions. In other words, class struggle will rise and fall. It will not continuously sharpen, but may sharpen under given conditions. The general trend of class struggle is toward abatement, like the subsiding of ripples. Following the ultimate victory of the socialist system, class struggle will eventually die out.

According to an erroneous theory preached in the past, class struggle in socialist society will not only fail to die out but will grow more and more acute. The following thesis by Lenin was always taken as an important basis of this erroneous theory. In his article "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky," Lenin said: "The transition from capitalism to communism represents an entire historical epoch. Until this epoch has ended, the exploiters inevitably cherish the hope of restoration, and this hope is converted into attempts at restoration. And after their first serious defeat, the overthrown exploiters (who had not expected their overthrow, never believed it possible, never conceded the thought of it) throw themselves with energy grown tenfold, with furious passion and hatred grown a hundredfold, into the battle for the recovery of the 'paradise,' of which they have been deprived, on behalf of their families." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 640) However, this passage is of no help to the erroneous theory mentioned above because Lenin was referring to the situation of domestic class struggle during the transitional period in Russia. It cannot be applied to China after the completion of socialist transformation. However, during the period from 1957 to the downfall of the "gang of four," our country launched one political movement after another and ceaselessly carried out class struggle under the guidance of this erroneous theory. We even thought that this was necessary for preventing the restoration of capitalism and for building socialism. Actually, we were only artificially creating internal strife among the people. The unprecedented "Great Cultural Revolution" was the biggest internal strife on a national scale since the founding of the PRC and was the most intense manifestation of the so-called class struggle in the socialist period.

How then should we understand the thesis that class struggle in socialist society may even sharpen under certain conditions? First, we must clearly understand what sharpen means. Sharpening is opposite of abating. Philosophically speaking, it means that the conflict between contradictions has grown so intense that it reaches a point of explosion. However, the extent to which class struggle may sharpen differs from period to period. It depends on development in changes in the balance of forces between the two sides. The intensity of class struggle

in socialist society is obviously much milder compared with the period of the armed seizure of political power by the proletariat and the transitional period of socialism. Moreover, the general trend of struggle can only move toward abatement. The reason is that after the elimination of the exploiting classes as such, the targets of class struggle will not be exploiting classes in their full form, but only their leftovers--remnant forces of the old exploiting classes and the new-born exploiters. These people, that is, the five types of undesirable elements and two kinds of remnant forces discussed earlier, make up a very small number. Since the old relations of production which they used to represent no longer exist and they do not possess any means of production, it will not be possible for them to develop into a class in its full form and to stand up against the economy and politics of socialism. Thus, their strength will gradually diminish as the strength of the people grows. This development and change in the balance of class forces will, therefore, make it impossible for them to wage one large-scale struggle after another. Even if they can seize certain opportunities to gang up and form a force against us, they will only bang their heads against the solid wall of the people's democratic dictatorship.

However, we must not lower our vigilance and become careless just because hostile elements constitute a mere handful and the trend of class struggle is toward abatement. The party Central Committee had the actual situation in mind when it emphasized time and again that class struggle may even sharpen under certain conditions.

Although it is very difficult to actually define "certain conditions," we can perhaps draw the following inferences from class struggle in our country over the past two decades and more: First, class struggle may sharpen when class enemies at home and abroad work hand in glove in a vain attempt to overthrow China's people's democratic dictatorship. An example of this was that at the instigation of U.S. imperialism, Chiang Kai-shek repeatedly dispatched armed agents to the coastal areas of the Chinese mainland to plot for an invasion in 1962. Second, class struggle may also sharpen when imperialism and hegemonism wage a war of aggression against our country. An example of this was the Sino-Vietnamese border war provoked by the Vietnamese regional hegemonists a few years ago. Third, if we confuse the two different types of contradictions, handle a host of problems that are in the nature of contradictions among the people as though they are contradictions between the enemy and ourselves and broaden the scope of class struggle, class enemies at home and abroad will take advantage of the situation. This may lead to the sharpening of class struggle. A typical case in point was when the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques capitalized on the "left" errors during the "Great Cultural Revolution" and artificially created class struggles. Contradictions sharpened as a result. Fourth, class struggle may also sharpen if we fail to see or recognize the presence of class struggle, or if we fail to effectively strike at the serious crimes perpetrated by the class enemies in the economic, political and cultural fields aimed at undermining socialism and let things take their own course. For example, on the question of the bourgeois trend toward liberalization, if our party does not take note and resolutely wage a struggle against it, people who hanker after liberalist ways may succeed in whipping up a storm and do harm to the stability and unity of

society. Fifth, when unhealthy practices prevail in the party, or when leaders become seriously tainted with bureaucratic ways, overlook ideological-political work and cannot appropriately handle different types of contradictions, class enemies will capitalize on our shortcomings and mistakes and on the resentment of the masses to stir up trouble. They may also lead to the sharpening of class struggle.

The correct understanding and handling of the question of class struggle in socialist society is an important issue which our party has been trying hard to resolve for the past 20 years and more but without much success. After summing up historical experience and the fresh experience gained in recent years, our party has greatly enhanced its understanding of this question and raised it to a new scientific level. In the course of practice, we must uphold the correct views on class struggle put forward in the report to the 12th CPC Congress, constantly enrich and perfect our understanding of this question and strive hard to bring about a situation of prolonged stability and unity in our country as quickly as possible.

CSO: 4005/200

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'EARNEST STUDY' LEADS TO CORRECT IDEOLOGY

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 31 Aug 82 p 4

[Article by You Gan [1429 2413]: "The Ideal Answer"]

[Text] According to a report in GUANGMING RIBAO on 13 August, when Chen Xiaoyue, [7115 1420 1878] a student of Qinghua University's Department of Energy, was in middle school, he was criticized for being an heir of revisionism. Due to his father's historical problems he was treated coldly when he worked on a production team, in a factory and everywhere he went. He was very depressed. For a time he wanted to find the answer to real life from the writings of Confucius, Laozi and Mencius. He even read books on the Bible, Buddhist scripture and Hegel but did not find the ideal answer. After he took an examination and entered Qinghua University in 1977 he read "Capital" and other books by Marx and Lenin as well as the "Selected Works of Mao Zedong." He said: "I have finally found the theory that can correctly observe and analyze social problems and drive society forward. It is Marxism." Last year he honorably joined the CPC and was rated three-goods student in education.

China's revolution and the practice of construction long ago answered clearly Chen Xiaoyue's question which he has only recently come to realize, namely, only Marxism can guide China's revolution and construction to victory; all other doctrines do not work. The problem has long been resolved but people's minds have been confused by the interference of the antirevolutionary clique of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." As a result, the faith of some youth in Marxism has been shaken. They want to "explore" so-called "new ways." Are not some people interested in Western existentialism? At the mention of existentialism, people would think about Sartre of France. Coincidentally, the founder, in the first half of the 19th century, of existentialism was the Danish mysticist Kierkegaard. After the World War I it became popular in Germany and was mainly represented by Heidegger and Jaspers. During and after World War II the French writer Marcel, Sartre and others popularized existentialism through their art and literature so that it became relatively popular in Europe, America and Latin America. Existentialism treats the question of human existence as an "ontological" question in philosophy. In its view, only human existence is the "most real" and "most basic" among all things in the world. After all, man is concrete and existence is one's own existence. Jaspers said: "All things are essentially real, and to me their

existence is purely because I am myself." Sartre also said: "There is no universe other than man's and his subjective world." Obviously this is idealism, but why are some young people confused? It is because it talks about man without his social character and it stresses the value and esteem of the individual. In other words, upholding "oneself," so-called "someone else is my hell" and "man is a wolf to another man" are expressions of such ultraindividualism. It also believes that man can build himself according to his consciousness and advocates man's absolute freedom, reliance on individual struggle, unconditional choice of one's future; so-called "human essence" is based on the "individual plan" and is "self-formed." Whatever you wish to make of yourself, you will be able to do so. Therefore, those who pursue individual ideals would regard it as panacea. But real life is ruthless, and this absolute freedom unrestrained by society is basically impossible. Because ours is a socialist society it cannot be guided by capitalist ideology but only the proletarian ideological system of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. A socialist society that deviates from the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought will inevitably regress to a capitalist society. The ideal answer our fellow student Chen Xiaoyue got is neither Confucian nor Hegelian thought, but Marxism, which is the correct answer and the only correct answer proven by practice. Like Confucian and Hegelian thought, existentialism will not become the ideal answer for people in our socialist society, and it can only be trash that serves the bourgeoisie. It is also inevitable that some people who have been influenced by it will discard it after they study Marxism-Leninism.

In this respect, we must learn a little history and understand that our people have chosen Marxism-Leninism after going down a difficult and tortuous road. If one understands this point one would not blindly "explore" their own "new ways" but would compare the modern trend of bourgeois thinking with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and further strengthen our belief in Marxism-Leninism. Chairman Mao vividly depicted this problem for us over 30 years ago: "Since China's defeat in the 1840 Opium War, Progressive Chinese went through countless hardships to search for truth from Western countries. Hong Xiuquan [1813 4423 1856], Kang Youwei [1860 2589 1934], Yan Fu [1851 1884] and Sun Yat-sen were a group of people who searched for the truth from the West before the birth of the CPC. At that time, Chinese who wanted to be progressive would read any book if it was on new, Western principles. The number of students sent to study in Japan, Britain, France and Germany reached an astonishing extent. Abolition of the imperial examinations and popularization of schools became pronounced in China in order to learn from the West." "Imperialist aggression destroyed the Chinese dream of learning from the West. Oddly, why did the teachers attack the student? The Chinese learned a lot from the West, but it did not work and the ideals were never realized. Many times the struggle failed including nationwide movements such as the 1911 revolution. Conditions in the country deteriorated day by day and the environment made it impossible for people to live. Suspicions were generated; they grew and developed. World War I shook the whole world. The Russians carried out the October Revolution and created the first socialist country in the world. Under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin the revolutionary vigor of the great Russian proletariat and laboring people that was hidden underground and unseen by foreigners



suddenly erupted like a volcano. The Chinese and the whole of mankind viewed Russians in a different light. Then, and only then, a new period dawned among the Chinese in their thinking and lives. As Chinese found the universally accurate and general truth of Marxism-Leninism, China's appearance began to change."

Chairman Mao himself had taken such a road. In his conversation with Snow he described his mentality in Beijing and Changsha when he had not yet fully accepted Marxism-Leninism: "I read some booklets on anarchism and was very influenced by them. I frequently discussed anarchism and its prospects in China with a student named Chu Qianzhi [2612 6197 0037]. At that time I agreed with many anarchist ideas." "At this time my mind was a hotchpotch of liberalism, democratic reformism and utopian socialism. I longed for 19th century democracy, utopianism and traditional liberalism, but my opposition against warlords and imperialism was definite and without a doubt." At that time he even wanted to take action to realize Saneatsu Mushakeji's concept of new villages. After he graduated from the First Hunan Normal School in June 1918, he went all over the villages in the Yuelu Mountain region with Cai Hesen [5591 0735 2773], Zhang Kundi [1728 2492 1717] and others to establish a new village based on half-work and half-study and on equality and friendship, but they were unable to establish a foothold and did not succeed. Later, Chairman Mao established his faith in Marxism-Leninism only after he studied it, understood the experience and lessons of revolutions in different countries and recognized that the only way out was to follow the path of the October Revolution. The road taken by the Chinese people in the past and the difficult course of proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation speak even more vigorously for our ideal answer!

To find the ideal answer, we must study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought in earnest. We will not get the ideal answer if we do not study in earnest and master the spiritual essence of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Moreover, prejudice is more frightening than ignorance. Wei Liangfu [7614 5328 4395], a student of class 79 of the Mechanics Department at Qinghua University, was formerly uninterested in studying Marxism-Leninism. Out of curiosity during this summer vacation he used someone's name to attend the Marxism-Leninism study class operated by the school. After he read the "Communist Manifesto" several times he said with a sigh: The profound thinking, eloquent and vigorous proofs and words like prose poems easily "captivated" me. When he attended several supplementary courses and understood even more basic Marxist-Leninist principles he said with deep feelings: "Prejudice is more frightening than ignorance! My prejudice against Marxism-Leninism in the past began with my ignorance. Study has enabled me to view Marxism as a science." This is a true experience. At the same time it has inspired us: Are we not, to a certain extent responsible, if we overlook the education of young people in the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and cause some people to become influenced by modern bourgeois trends of thought?

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CSO: 4005/111

## PARTY AND STATE

### JIANGSU CYL 8TH CONGRESS MEETS

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 30 Aug 82 p 1

[Article by Shen Yun [3088 5089]: "Youths Throughout the Province Unite and Struggle To Construct the Four Modernizations Under the Banners of Communism--8th Congress of Jiangsu CYL Concludes--First All-Committee Member Conference of 8th Jiangsu CYL Elected Standing Committee"]

[Text] The 8th Congress of the Jiangsu CYL lasted for 6 days and victoriously concluded on 29 August.

The closing ceremony was conducted by Comrade Sun Jiazheng [1327 1367 2398]. Comrade Gu Hao [7357 3185] delivered the closing speech. Comrade Gu said: After this congress the goal for the struggle in the work of the CYL in the subsequent period has been defined. A key question placed before organizations at all levels of the CYL is the kind of spiritual conditions we should use to initiate the new situation of the CYL's work throughout the province and to complete in a splendid manner the tasks of this congress.

Comrade Gu Hao said: In order to complete brilliantly the tasks of this congress we must establish faith in communism. Whatever are the circumstances and however great are the difficulties we face in the future, we must believe firmly that the goal of struggle of "raising high the banners of communism and being the brave, shock contingents that initiate the great, new situation for modern socialist construction" is entirely correct. We must put forward the spirit of struggle of not fearing any difficulties and hardships; establish the heroic spirit of despising difficulties and daring to win; nourish an unremitting and indomitable revolutionary determination; and advance toward the set objective with the enterprising spirit of the Foolish Old Man who "endlessly digs up the mountain." We must put forward the fine work style of being diligent and eager to learn, from books, practice, revolutionaries of the elder generation and all those who are experienced. We must strive to increase our own ideological standards and work ability, become good assistants of the party and create a revolutionary undertaking that is worthy of the old and future generations.

Finally, Comrade Gu Hao said: This congress of ours was convened on the eve of the 12th Party Congress and at a very opportune moment. The 12th Party Congress will be one that initiates a magnificent and new situation for



socialist modern construction, and it will write a shining chapter in the history of the party. We must use full political ardor to study the 12th Party Congress documents in earnest, become closely involved in popularizing its spirit, resolve to complete the various tasks it puts forward, and contribute all our wisdom and ability to build the "two civilizations" under the banners of communism.

During the period of the congress the representatives studied in earnest, discussed the opening speeches by Comrades Xu Jiatun [6079 1367 1470] and Gao Zhanxiang [7559 1594 4382], increased their knowledge, defined their goals and roused their spirit. They unanimously believe that the use of communist ideology to educate young people is the central task of the CYL. Many representatives also proceeded from reality and put forward their views on questions relating to communist ideological education that needed attention: While we must have a clearcut stand in popularizing communist ideology and advocating communist morality, we must also do painstaking ideological and political work in a down-to-earth manner; while we must inherit and carry forward the decades of traditional experience of the CYL, we must also shift according to the characteristics of contemporary youths to earnestly study new conditions in combination with the realities of growth and to resolve new problems; and while we must ascertain the prime motivation of contemporary youths, we must not overlook the corrosion and influence of capitalist ideology on youths, and thereby actively and realistically perform all tasks well.

Through full deliberation and consultation by all the representatives and according to the demands to revolutionize, popularize knowledge, specialize and rejuvenate, the congress elected and created the 8th committee of the Jiangsu CYL. The committee is formed by 95 members and 25 alternate members. The first all-committee member conference elected and created a standing committee of 11 members for the Jiangsu CYL. Sun Jiazheng was elected secretary; Gu Hao, Ji Yunshi [1323 1336 4258], Bai Suning [2672 5685 1380] (female) and Lin Xiangguo [2651 4382 0948] were elected deputy secretaries.

The congress approved the work report of Comrade Sun Jiazheng for the former committee of the Jiang CYL and elected 108 deputies to represent the Jiangsu CYL at the 11th nationwide congress.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### CONSOLIDATION OF PARTY ORGANIZATIONS TO MEET MODERNIZATION NEEDS EMPHASIZED

Guangzhou GUANGZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 28 Oct 82 p 4

[Article by Rui Zhi [6904 0037]: "It Is Necessary To Coordinate the Building of the Party with the Task of This New Period"]

[Text] In his report to the 12th Party Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang profoundly analyzed the triumphant historical transformation our country has achieved during the past 5 years, thus sounding the clarion call for comprehensively opening new horizons in the development of socialist modernization. As in the past, the leadership of the party remains the fundamental guarantee for victory during this new historical period. But this does not mean that the party can achieve this goal without making any effort. The party itself also faces the problem of how to strengthen its development. During this new historical period, the development of the party of a task that must be carried out in close coordination with the development of socialist moderation. Why?

First, it is essential to the triumphant fulfillment of the new historical task. We must understand that the political line and the organizational line are dependent on and complement each other. Although the organizational line is the guarantee for the realization of the political line, more importantly the organizational line must serve the political line, only then will it be able to play an effective role. Building the party without implementing a correct political line is not only meaningless but also misleading. During various historical periods, our party built its strength in close coordination with the implementation of the political line and political work of the time. During the new democratic revolution, the party must rely on three magic weapons, namely, the united front, the armed struggle and the leadership of the party. Party organizations at all levels, party cadres and party members must learn to wield and use these magic weapons. They must learn to cooperate with all forces that could be united in forming the most broadly based united front, courageously and skillfully carry out the armed struggle, and build up the strength of the party in the course of carrying out this struggle and other work so that the party can lead the people to victory in democratic revolution.

During this new historical period, the building of the party should also be viewed as a task that is subordinate to and in the service of the party's

political line. In other words, only after the needs for the development of socialist modernization are met, can the party be built into a strong core capable of providing leadership for the development of socialist modernization. If the structure of the party is found unfit to meet the demands of organizing the construction of socialist modernization and to lead the people to take the socialist road characteristic of the Chinese conditions, if party organizations cannot properly handle the relationship between economics and politics, between the building of material civilization and spiritual civilization, and between ideological and cultural developments, and if they are not good at building a high level of socialist democracy stimulating the enthusiasm of the people to the greatest extent, we will find ourselves unable to act as vanguard fighters during this new historical period.

Second, it is essential to the endeavor to improve the present stature and quality of party cadres and party members. Today, the development of modernization remains something new to many of our cadres. Lenin pointed out that although some people can be the most capable revolutionaries and instigators, they are unfit to serve as administrators. In this case, study is necessary. At present, many of cadres in leadership and responsible positions are not well-educated and lack professional knowledge. If no effort is made to change this situation, they will be qualified to do the job of this new period.

The cultivation of cadres is the heart of strengthening the organization of the party. At present, it is particularly necessary to do a good job in this field. The Central Committee has repeatedly emphasized that after the party shifted the emphasis of its work to the development of socialist modernization, a large number of cadres must be trained on a rotational basis, and a contingent of revolutionary, young, well-educated, and professionally competent cadres must be gradually built in order to meet the needs of the new situation. This is an important measure for strengthening the building of the party. We must deeply appreciate this measure and clearly see that at present, the quality of the rank-and-file cadres still falls far behind the demands for the construction of socialist modernization, there is no reason to be complacent.

Third, this guarantees the necessity of keeping the development of the party on a constant path. During this new historical period, successful efforts must be made to build the party. In doing so, we must not only completely break with the so-called "theory of continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" ideologically and theoretically, but also coordinate our practical work with the task for the construction of socialist modernization. Without the latter, the party will eventually be unable to get rid of the pernicious "leftist" influence in the course of building up its strength. For example, for years, under the guidance of the "leftist" ideology, we have failed to emphasize the need for incorporating well-educated and professionally competent cadres in our cadre contingents. We have also failed to help them acquire professional skills in the administration of the socialist economy while consistently demanding them to continue to raise the so-called "consciousness of class struggle," and

to apply the method of political struggle to promote economic development, thus causing unnecessary damage to our socialist undertakings. Furthermore, because the unhealthy effects of the 10-year internal strife remain, and because of the erosion of various ideas of the exploiting classes which have emerged under the new conditions, some individual party cadres and party members have embarked on corruption and embezzlement, committed economic crimes, seriously disrupting the development of socialist modernization. If we want to be successful in building the party, we must resolutely struggle against these tendencies. In short, we must train a contingent of both socialist-minded and professionally competent cadres in response to the needs for the development of socialist modernization, only in this way can we fulfill the mission assigned by history.

By following the path laid out by the 12th Parth Congress, our party can certainly do a good job of improving and building itself, and lead the people on a march toward a new and greater victory in developing socialist modernization.

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CSO: 4005/145

## PARTY AND STATE

### CENTRAL COMMITTEE POLICY ON CLASS STRUGGLE EXPLAINED

Guangzhou GUANGZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 21 Oct 82 p 4

[Article: "What Is Our Basic Policy in Dealing With the Problem of Current Class Struggle?"]

[Text] A report on the 12th Party Congress points out: We must be mentally prepared for a prolonged struggle, uphold the dictatorial functions of the state under the people's democratic dictatorship, and persist in applying the Marxist-Leninist class viewpoint to handle our current social contradictions and social phenomenon of class struggle. This is the party Central Committee's basic policy in dealing with the problem of current class struggle in our country.

After the exploiters were eliminated as a class, most contradictions that still exist in our society were no longer classified as ones in the nature of class struggle, class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction. Since the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the party Central Committee has taken resolute measures to suspend the implementation of the policy of "taking class struggle as the key link," and has shifted the emphasis of its work to the construction of socialist modernization. But this does not mean that class struggle has ceased to exist. There are all sorts of hostile elements in our country at present. They are mainly counterrevolutionary cliques, criminals who have seriously undermined the socialist order, new exploiters engaged in embezzlement, speculation, swindling, smuggling, and trading in contraband goods, and a minority of old exploiters who engage in sabotage. These hostile elements have engaged in activities to deliberately sabotage the economic, political, ideological and cultural developments and social life, and overthrow the socialist system. Our current class struggle is mainly a struggle carried out by the people against these hostile elements.

This struggle in our country will continue to exist for a long time. This is because the historical system of exploitation and the exploiting classes and their pernicious influence on various fronts cannot be eliminated at a single blow, because our country has yet to fulfill the grand objective of its ultimate reunification, and therefore must continue to live in

a complicated international environment where the capitalist forces and certain other influences hostile to socialism are bound to have a corrosive and destructive effect on our social life, and because our relatively backward economy and culture and young, socialist system remain unable completely to prevent some members of our society and party from becoming susceptible to corruption, and a small number of exploiters and hostile elements from asserting themselves. These destructive activities carried out by hostile elements cannot be stopped in a short time, and may even deteriorate under certain conditions. Therefore, we cannot treat them lightly. We must maintain a high degree of vigilance, be mentally prepared for a prolonged struggle, and persist in exercising the dictatorial functions of the state under the people's democratic dictatorship, in order to crack down hard on all hostile elements.

The emphasis on upholding and applying the Marxist-Leninist class viewpoint to handle our current social contradictions and social tendencies characteristic of class struggle will enable us strictly to distinguish contradictions characteristic of class struggle from those that are not in the nature of class struggle and to avoid the mistake of expanding the class struggle. Among the very complicated social contradictions and social tendencies that presently exist in our country, there is a small number of social contradictions in the category of class struggle, the majority are not in the category of class struggle. Apart from the previously mentioned class struggle carried out by the people against hostile elements, other social contradictions that are in the nature of class struggle include struggles against remnant feudal ideas and decadent capitalist ideological influences. These are social contradictions that also smack of class struggle in varying degrees. But generally speaking, they are in the category of contradictions among the people. Instead of adopting the method of struggle against the enemy as a measure to resolve such contradictions, we must mainly adopt the methods of criticism and active ideological struggle to overcome these erroneous ideas and actions until contradictions are resolved. As for those social contradictions which are not in the nature of class struggle, contradictions among the people who share the same basic interest but have different views on matters of specific interest, and contradictions between advanced and backward ideologies and between correct and incorrect views within the framework of a general objective, we should never adopt the method of class struggle to handle them. In light of different situations, we must adopt a variety of correct and appropriate measures to resolve them so that the past mistake of expanding class struggle will not be repeated in the future.

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PARTY AND STATE

BRIEFS

HEILONGJIANG: SELF-EDUCATED YOUTHS--According to statistics, Heilongjiang Province's rural areas have some 900,000 self-educated youths. Through self-education, most youths become qualified personnel to make contributions to the four modernizations. Since the smashing of the gang of four and especially since the third plenum, youths across the province have enthusiastically conducted self-education. Some of them are engaged in studying at television universities, sparetime universities and correspondence universities. [Text] [SK040241 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 1 Dec 82]

CSO: 4005/202

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### WESTERNIZATION MOVEMENT DISCUSSED

Shanghai SHEHUI KEXUE [SOCIAL SCIENCES] in Chinese No 9 15 Sep 82 pp 40-44

[Article by Xia Dongyuan [1115 2639 0337]: "A Brief Account of the Multilateral Relations of the Westernization Movement"]

[Text] The Westernization Movement is interrelated with many affairs and events, but the present article will discuss only its relations with the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, with Chinese capitalism and with the Foreign Affairs Clique and certain personalities.

To explain the many multilateral relations of the Westernization Movement we must first clarify the criteria for an evaluation of the movement.

The method of evaluating the Westernization Movement--the same as the evaluation of all historical personalities and events--can only use historical materialism and a combination of class analysis and historicism. In the past few years, scholarship on the history of the Westernization Movement has actually come up with two criteria: One is that the movement was launched and developed by the Foreign Affairs Clique to protect the reactionary Manchu Qing regime, in collusion with and reliance on foreign capitalist aggressors, by suppressing the people's revolutionary movements. It must be designated a "process of turning China into a semicolonized and colonized country by a combination of imperialism and feudalism." Considered in this light, the Westernization Movement must of course be judged negatively. Another group of scholars has come up with another assessment. Viewed in the light of the developmental law of history, we see that China at that time was at the stage when capitalism was about to replace feudalism, and the Westernization Movement played an effective role in furthering the buildup and development of modern Chinese capitalist industrial enterprises. The movement was well in line with the demands of historical developments and therefore deserving of our approval.

I believe both criteria must be considered in unison. Comrade Mao Zedong once set forth the law of class struggle. "The process by which imperialism combined with Chinese feudalism transformed China into a semicolonized and colonized country is also the process of Chinese popular resistance against imperialism and its running dogs." He also made the statement: "The history of imperialist aggression against China, its obstruction of China's independence and its obstruction of Chinese capitalism is the history of modern China." The starting



point of historical materialism is economics. The substance and the laws of class structure and class struggle are determined by the level and conditions of economic developments. Without a feudal economy, there would be no opposing classes of landlords and peasants and the class struggle between them. Without the capitalist economy, there could be no opposing classes of capitalists and workers and the class struggle between them. The conditions of the economy determine the class conditions and the class struggle conditions, and class struggle, conversely, has a promoting or obstructing impact on economic developments. Marxism takes the existence of classes and class struggle in a society as the manifestations of the cultural history of mankind, mainly because classes and class struggle are the outcome of economic developments, and the struggle between the slaves and slaveholders or between peasants and landlords frequently brings about an improvement in production relations, an amelioration of the tools and a liberation of productive forces, which again results in a continuous increase in production and even leads to the transformation of the production methods. Politics is the concentrated expression of economics, and politics, conversely, has also an impact on economics. All the struggles and transformations of society will, in the final analysis, be reflected in the transformation of economics. Engels once said that the ultimate cause of all social transformation "... must be sought in the changes of the production methods... sought in the economics of the particular time in question."<sup>1</sup> Exploring the developmental law of modern Chinese society, how can we look for it merely in the class struggle of the "two processes" and not in the transformation of the production methods, namely in the transformation by which capitalism replaced feudalism?

Shortly before and after the Qianlong and Jiaqing reign periods of the Qing Dynasty, we already see the seeds of capitalism in slow development, but with a technical level that was by far insufficient to overcome the small producers. After the Opium War, foreign capitalism invaded China and foreign merchandise began at that time to capture the Chinese markets. Its production capacity far exceeded that of the Chinese small producers. In the case of textiles, "the price matched that of the native cloth, but the foreign cloth was three times wider."<sup>2</sup> As the law of value took effect, the foreign merchandise rapidly separated the small producers from their means of production, and a manpower market and a market for merchandise was thereby created just as the capitalists wanted and needed it. Chinese industries of a modern capitalist character were at that time about to come into existence; it was like "an arrow being placed on the bow" ready to be shot, but the capitalist developmental trend met with the serious restrictive impediments of feudalism. To trigger the "arrow" was generally to struggle against political and military odds. At that time this struggle was mainly the struggle of the Chinese nation against foreign capitalist aggression, and the struggle of the peasants against the landlord class. The emergence of capitalism and its development was a historical necessity, but which struggle--the national struggle or the class struggle--would trigger the "arrow" on the bow was not historically predetermined. The "arrow" of a modern capitalist industry that was at that time on China's "bow" could not be triggered in the Opium War, but was indeed triggered when the Qing government suppressed the revolution of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. The suppression of the revolution of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom was a reactionary act, but objectively triggering and shooting off the "arrow" of capitalism on China's "bow" was in line with the trend of history.

2. Whenever the Westernization Movement is discussed in its relation with the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, people naturally think that "it was an antagonistic movement in opposition to the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom." It is correct that the direct reason which gave impetus to the Westernization Movement was the intention to suppress the revolutionary peasant movements, of which the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom was the principal one, but this was by far not the only connection between the two. There is a much deeper and broader connection between the Westernization Movement and the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. It is well known that in the eyes of the Qing government the Westernization Movement was to "acquire the superior technology of the foreigners," in order to be able to save the feudal rule of the Qing Dynasty. To save its rule, the Qing Dynasty had of necessity to suppress the popular revolutions at home and in its foreign relations, to ward off the foreign powers. When it was not strong enough to suppress the people, it linked up with foreign powers to maintain control internally, and when it was not strong enough to ward off the foreign powers, it was apt to compromise and sue for peace, all to safeguard its own rule. However, regardless of its manifestations, the importation of Western advanced science and technology as part of its development of the productive forces and of a modern industry, resulted in the emergence and development of a Chinese capitalism. The fact that the Westernization Movement induced the emergence and development of Chinese capitalism is in two respects closely linked with the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. One is the development of some measure of commodity economy. Because the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom had finally dealt a heavy blow to the forces of feudalism, the production enthusiasm of the peasants had risen high in most areas, and there was an increase in the proportion of production available for sale, so that there was "a great traffic of itinerant tradesmen and taxes were very minimal."<sup>3</sup> The development of the commodity economy was not only evident in the domestic markets of areas controlled by the Taiping armies, but occurred also in international trade. For example, tea and silk exports, in the years 1849-1850, prior to the revolution, about 54 million pounds of tea and over 50,000 bales of silk in the years 1855-1856. By 1862-1863, when the Taiping armies had occupied most of the tea and silk producing areas, tea exports were 120 million pounds and silk exports over 83,000 bales. Compared with conditions before the war, tea exports had more than doubled and silk exports had risen over five times. This shows that there had been large increases in the commodity trade on the domestic markets as well as in exports. Although merchandise in those days was mainly supplied by small producers, the increase in the volume of commodities easily led to the emergence of capitalist relations. This definitely had a beneficial effect on the Westernization Movement which was promoting the emergence and development of capitalism.

Another consequence of the Taiping revolutionary movement was that as feudal relations were loosened, a small-scale peasant economy grew. There are many reasons for this occurrence, one being the reduction in population and the promotion of immigration of people from other areas to undertake the cultivation of vacant land. During the war the population of the provinces of Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Anhui and Jiangxi had been greatly reduced. For instance during the 30-odd years from 1838 to 1872 in the Jiaying Prefecture the number of households decreased from 541,386 to 253,447, the number of women from 1,665,948 to 546,160.<sup>5</sup> The number of households and women decreased to more or less half and the number of men to two-thirds. As a result, uncultivated land was to be found everywhere. After the suppression of the Taiping armies

by the Qing government, the local governments in the various localities adopted the measure of inviting people from other areas to cultivate the vacant land and thus resume production on it. The arable land that was in this way returned to production became in some cases the property of the cultivator, and in some cases only half became the property of the cultivator and one half became public land, but in most cases the one who put the land back into production was left to grow his crop on it, and his taxes and levies were lightened. As a result, "immigrants vied with each other to open up waste land, first they were exempted from taxation and later benefited from low rents."<sup>6</sup> Immigrants came in large numbers "to open up waste land and wilderness; they proceeded to till the land, gained all the benefits from the fertile soil, moved their families in, built their houses and lived as prosperous people."<sup>7</sup> Immigrants therefore became wealthy, and it also happened that "some of the original natives foolishly abandoned their land and turned tradesmen."<sup>8</sup> The sale of land ownership was quite common in areas under the control of the Taiping army. Some land in Zhejiang Province changed ownership so much that finally no cultivated land remained in the hands of the original owners."<sup>9</sup> The above-described conditions demonstrate that feudal relations had greatly loosened up. The small-scale peasant economy under loosened feudal relations played quite a different role from that of the small-scale peasant economy still shackled by the fetters of feudalism. The latter suffered the restrictions of the economic laws of feudalism and therefore, to a certain degree, functioned as a support of the feudal rule. The former was gradually coming under the dominance of the law of value and the economic laws of capitalism and thus became a hotbed for capitalism. As the small peasants "gained all the benefits of the fertile soil," they not only became self-sufficient but also produced commodities for sale, broadened the commodity market, sped up their polarization, which of necessity had the effect of making them the midwives of capitalism.

Whether it was the first or the second consequence of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom revolutionary movement, both were equally beneficial for capitalism. On the other hand, one of the major effects of the Westernization Movement was to, so-to-say, press the electric button that would give the green light to the emergence and development of capitalism because the preconditions for capitalism had already been established, not only by the invasion of foreign capitalism but also by the considerable impact of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom revolutionary movement in this respect. Of course this "considerable impact" was closely linked with the "preconditions" created by the invasion of foreign capitalism and the conditions needed by capitalism.

There is yet another question that deserves our careful attention, namely the great decrease in population in all areas for various reasons, such as military service, deaths, flight, etc. The people that had taken flight were above all the landlord elements. Some of these landlords returned to their old homes after the suppression of the Taiping armies, to resume their former businesses. However, these people were often not as involved with landownership as before. Some landlord families had invested whatever money and valuables they had taken with them on their flight in industrial or commercial enterprises in the cities. Others, although continuing their land business in the countryside, had become more interested in investments in industry and commerce in the cities and became gradually landlords and capitalists. Were not Sheng Kang [4141 1660] and Sheng Xuanhuai [4141 1357 2037], father and son, from Changzhou, Dai Heng [2071 1854]

of Zhenjiang, the brothers Yang Zonglian [2799 1350 3425] and Yang Zonghan [2799 1350 3466], all landlord families of Jiangsu and among the first to invest in the modern industry of the Westernization Movement? These facts establish a connection with the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom revolutionary movement.

3. The question of the relationship between the Westernization Movement and Chinese capitalism was for many years answered in the following manner: The industrial and commercial enterprises of the Westernization Movement constituted the early phase of bureaucrat capitalism. The Westernization Movement had a suppressive and to a certain extent promoting effect on national capitalism. In my opinion it is not advisable to draw a hard and fast line between the said "suppressive" and "promoting" effects, but they must be the subject of one integrated investigation.

The Westernization Movement was a movement for the utilization of Western advanced science and technology to save the feudal rule of the Qing Dynasty. The utilization of Western advanced science and technology showed itself first in the purchase of strong ships and powerful artillery to suppress the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, and showed itself later in the importation of advanced machinery and equipment for the manufacture of arms and ammunition. Prince Kung and others of the Foreign Affairs Clique had said that the purchases were measures of a temporary nature, and that the "permanent plan for all future" was to manufacture these articles. Factories and enterprises that were using large machinery to manufacture arms and ammunition, under the conditions created on a fairly broad scale by the invading foreign capitalism and required for the development of capitalism, unavoidably bore the imprint of a capitalist character. This is so because of the role of the law of value in the production of armaments; it was the expectation of cheap cost prices that was the aim of the Foreign Affairs Clique in undertaking themselves the production of arms and ammunition. Since the law of value played a role in the manufacture of armaments, these products assumed "the garb of commodities," namely value being the garb of commodity. Cloaked in this way--with value--as commodity, their products could enter the markets for commodity exchanges. In actual fact, the Qing government allotted "accounting prices" to arms and ammunition at the various military camps, and "accounting prices" indeed convey a commodity character. From the seventies of the 19th century on, there was a steady increase in the sale of arms and ammunition sold as commodities. By 1900, the financial income from such sales at the Jiangnan Arsenal amounted to over one-third of its total income. What is more important is that many of the workers at the various arsenals were selling free labor. Their wages were in general between 10 and 30 to 40 yuan. According to the above, the workers were not only creating use value, but also creating value, surplus value, and it is only that the form of surplus value transformation was different from that in ordinary capitalist enterprises. The capitalist nature of the modern war industry operated by the Qing government is obvious.

As the industrial and mining enterprises operated after the seventies, such as ship building, telegraph installations, textile mills, coal mines, ore excavation and smelting, these were of course capitalist enterprises in the real sense of the word, producing commodities with the intention of exploiting the

surplus value. As to the use value, the products of these industries destined for civilian use, although outwardly set up to supply the raw materials and fuel needs of the war industry, were in the final analysis subject to the law of value, which played a major role, and also subject to the influences and stimuli of the law of value and the law of surplus value of the war industry. For instance, the opening up and operation of coal mines was usually due to the "hardship of high prices for foreign coal."<sup>10</sup> The production of lead and copper, raw materials for the manufacture of ammunition, was undertaken because the importation of foreign materials was "cumbersome as to purchase and transportation and to be paid for at high prices."<sup>11</sup> Undertaken by themselves, the operation of factories that could produce these materials would yield cheap products for use in the arsenals, and the production of arms and ammunitions would then meet the demand of the Qing government to "get an adequate amount for the money allocated." This shows that there was this internal tie of economic laws between the war industry and the civilian industry. To a certain degree they formed one capitalist entity; they were China's modern capitalist industry at its early stage. Was this early capitalist industry of the Westernization Movement a bureaucrat capitalism with feudal and comprador character? This must be judged by the objective role that it played.

Capitalism by its very nature is not only naturally opposed to feudalism, but also naturally opposed to the invasion of any foreign capitalism. Taking the war industry as an example, not only was its intention to manufacture products cheaper than the foreign products, i.e. to "fight foreign production" and was effective in "fighting foreign production," but it also implicitly competed with the foreign arms trade. In actual fact, the armaments produced at their own arsenals were much cheaper than anything bought from abroad. For instance, a 12 pound bomb had to be purchased at a price of 12 liang of silver, but cost in manufacture was only 2 or 3 yuan. Looking again at the expenses for purchases from outside sources as against costs of production, we note that in the 11 months from July of the 3rd year of Tongzhi [1864] to May of the following year, the Huai army of Li Hongzhang spent over 240,000 liang on purchases from outside sources and paid around 120,000 liang as expenses for manufacture at the Bureau of Foreign Armaments.<sup>12</sup> The latter figure was not even half of the figure for purchases from outside sources, but considering the factor that production was much cheaper than the purchases, the use value of the armament was at least not less than that of the quantity purchased from outside sources. Is all that not an effect of "fighting foreign production"? If this was the case with military enterprises, it was even more so with civilian enterprises. The civilian industrial enterprises were set up by the Westernization Movement basically according to capitalist economic principles. Such enterprises as shipyards, textile mills and coal mines were undertaken with the idea of gaining profits for oneself and of "competing with the foreign merchants for profits" or of "raking off part of the foreign merchants' profits." Even though certain allowances were made during operations for the needs of the aggressors, the idea of "resisting the foreigners" played a major role in the undertakings. Precisely for this reason the foreign merchants saw in these enterprises a strong opponent and tried to destroy them. A striking example in this respect is the way the Jardine Matheson and Butterfield and Swire shipping companies cut their prices to compete with the China Merchants Steam Navigation Company and tried to squeeze the Chinese company out of business.



I said already that the military and civilian industrial enterprises of the Westernization Movement constituted one capitalist entity; they formed the "embryo of bureaucrat capitalism." The implication of this proposition is that the mentioned term "bureaucrat" denotes in the case of military industrial enterprises, that they were set up with government investments and that they were under direct administration and control by government officials. Although the civilian industrial enterprises were mainly set up by commercial capital and run by businessmen, they were still under the supervision of government officials. Whether in the military or the civilian industries, it was always the government officials who would make operation of the enterprises run only according to their will. This structure provided the possibility for the development of bureaucrat capitalism. However, as I said before, the Westernization Movement industrial enterprises had a very strong nationalistic character, and furthermore, in an overall assessment, and speaking of the initial period of the movement, the nationalistic nature was its primary aspect. If we say that the Westernization Movement industrial enterprises are the "embryo of bureaucrat capitalism," we must, therefore, at least recognize that they were also the embryo of national capitalism. This kind of capitalism could develop either into bureaucrat capitalism or into national capitalism. Considering the fact that the "bureaucrat" administered and supervised the enterprises under a semicolonial, semifeudal system, allowing feudal and comprador elements to permeate his work, there was the possibility that the result would be bureaucrat capitalism. Considering the natural disposition of capitalism to oppose and resist feudalism and the intrusion of foreign capitalism, and realizing that this disposition was at that time the primary aspect, there was a possibility that it would completely turn into an economy of national capitalism. Due to the fact that from the middle eighties of the 19th century the bureaucrat powers increasingly tightened their control over the enterprises, most of the Westernization Movement enterprises developed into the direction of bureaucrat capitalism.

There is yet another important argument why for many years scholarship regarded the Westernization Movement industrial enterprises as the early stage of bureaucrat-comprador capitalism, because the capital of these enterprises was mainly invested by bureaucrats, compradors and the like. However, this argument is untenable. According to the Marxist principle of the "personification of capital," it is not the class origin of the investor that determines the character of the enterprise, but it is precisely the character of the enterprise that gradually changes the class relationship of the investor. Actually, in China's modern history, men of landlord-bureaucrat and comprador background who invested in new industrial enterprises and thereby turned into capitalists were very numerous. The cases of Zhang Guanying [6774 6037 2019] and Xu Run [1776 3387], who were of comprador background and turned into national capitalists, and Sheng Xuanhuai, who was of landlord-bureaucrat background and turned into a capitalist, are all outstanding examples.

If bureaucrat landlords who invested in modern enterprises, thereby changed their class relationship and became capitalists, it was the same with the Westernization Movement bureaucrats when they made efforts to save the feudal rule; contrary to their original intentions, they developed capitalism. These changes occurred independent of their will, only according to the objective law that rules such transformations.

4. As to the relationship between the Westernization Movement and the Foreign Affairs Clique, just as the names imply, it is common knowledge that the Westernization Movement was initiated and led by the Foreign Affairs Clique, who among themselves of course held identical views. However, as said before, the later developments of the Westernization Movement frequently took a course that was different from the original intentions of the Foreign Affairs Clique. This shows that the Westernization movement must not be completely equated with the foreign affairs clique. The term foreign affairs derived from the term barbarian affairs which was used previously. The latter term has the connotation of a superior state controlling barbarian peoples on all its frontiers and referring contemptuously to the neighboring countries, while "foreign affairs" is a term that in this special context mainly denotes the study of advanced Western learning. The participants in the Westernization activities at that time may have started out from different points of departure, but were basically agreed on this understanding. In his book "Alarming Things From a Flourishing Age", Zheng Guanying discussed "foreign affairs" under the heading "Western Learning." He said: "Today's concern with foreign affairs is a trend of the time." The "foreign affairs" activities can be likened to a situation when the sovereign is seriously ill and must be rescued, when "one will try all means to heal him and for that purpose studies medicine." He ridiculed those who believed that it is noble not to discourse on foreign matters" and prided themselves with being "pure and aloof" or "men of proper conduct," as if wanting to emulate ancient martyrs who "jumped into the ocean or drown themselves in the Xiang River," or rather those who "tried shamelessly just to stay alive at the sacrifice of principles or honor." The term "foreign affairs" therefore assumed a different meaning from the traditional term "barbarian affairs" and came to mean study of advanced Western learning characteristic for that generation. The advanced learning comprised advanced science and technology as well as democratic political institutions. The Westernization Movement took the following course: It began with the utilization of advanced science and technology to serve the rule of the Qing Dynasty, then developed new productive forces, which in turn helped the emergence and development of capitalism. The development of capitalist production patterns furthermore demanded, in political respects, a transformation from an autocratic system to a democratic political system to conform with the needs of capitalist development. The Westernization Movement was supposed to take this direction, but in actual fact did not completely develop that way. This is related to the question whether the Foreign Affairs Clique objectively reflected this developmental law.

First of all, their efforts were intended to save the feudal rule, but they developed capitalism which was the opposite of their intentions and absolutely not expected by them. The Foreign Affairs Clique was a rather mixed group. At the time it formed, there were diehard bureaucrats, reformers of the landlord class and gentry with strong comprador tendencies. Their individual ways of thinking and approaches to the participation in activities was different. However, in one point they were all agreed, namely on learning science and technology from the West, in particular military technology, so that they would be able to suppress the revolutionary peasant movements and safeguard the rule of the Qing Dynasty. In the process of utilizing the new military technology for the armed suppression that was to solve the conflict between the landlords

and the peasants, they unwittingly developed new productive forces. The arsenals of Jiangnan, Tianjin and Mawei [near Fuzhou] manufactured not only military equipment, but manufactured and repaired merchant vessels and much machinery and many tools for civilian use. For example, the Jiangnan Arsenal, according to incomplete statistics, manufactured in the period from 1867 to 1904, 138 lathes and 47 planing machines. Its Translation Bureau translated 160 books of 1,075 volumes. Apart from a smaller number of books on politics and history, the majority were technical books on mathematics, electrical science, chemistry, optics, acoustics, agricultural science, mining, etc. These were mainly translated within the Westernization Movement and undoubtedly played a positive role in developing the new productive forces. The production with large machines brought with it capitalist economic relations, but most of the men of the Foreign Affairs Clique, especially the former diehard bureaucrats, had absolutely no intention of solving the contradiction between the trend toward capitalism and the repression of feudalism. This shows that the Foreign Affairs Clique, while conforming to the historical trend of the time, still harbored elements that obstructed the progress of the current of history.

In the middle seventies of the 19th century, there was a great change in the overall situation. After signing the Treaty of Beijing in 1860, the foreign capitalist powers stepped up their political, economic and cultural aggression and unscrupulously pilfered much of the wealth of China. Tsarist Russia's invasion of Yili in 1871 and especially Japan's invasion of Taiwan in 1874 destroyed the state of "peace and harmony between China and all foreign countries," and brought on serious crises in the border regions of China. Faced with this situation, the Foreign Affairs Clique, in military matters, turned their main attention from the suppression of the people internally to the defense against the threat from abroad. They made great efforts to improve coastal defenses, the navy and the equipment of the army. In the economic field their main objective was to strive for greater prosperity, that means, they were seeking sources of surplus value, and in this way spurred on the development of capitalism. They also had the intention of competing successfully with the foreign merchants in the market. This shows that in military installations as well as in economic activities the Foreign Affairs Clique reflected to a considerable degree the demands of the historical developments. In the new phase of the Westernization Movement there were, in addition to the original Foreign Affairs Clique, also a large number of comprador merchants and people with reformist ideals, or tending in this direction, who participated in activities. Although there was a great variety of contradictions between them, the majority of them were united in one point, namely resistance, militarily and economically, against the foreign powers.

There are two reasons why the Foreign Affairs Clique was indeed reflecting the demands of the Westernization Movement during the seventies. Judging from the position of the big foreign affairs bureaucrats, to protect the feudal rule of the Qing Dynasty, the greatest efforts had to be made to resist the foreign enemies who were an immediate threat. To effect this resistance it was necessary to strengthen the military power, which meant finally to strengthen the navy, coastal defenses and frontier defenses. As the war industry was further developed, it became also necessary to plan for more industries producing for



civilian uses, because these industries could solve the raw materials and fuel problems of the war industry, also bring about prosperity and provide the financial means to support the armed forces. The civilian industries could not rely on commercial circles to raise funds, and the raising of capital in commercial circles for the operation of enterprises means to develop capitalist relations. This logical process, although not foreseen by the foreign affairs bureaucrats, was a natural historical development. Speaking of the ordinary members of the Foreign Affairs Clique, especially those intellectuals and men with comprador background who had reformist tendencies, since the majority of them decidedly demanded resistance to the foreign aggression and were advocating economic war on the foreign merchants, and since they were also definitely seeking to gain surplus value and high profits, they were of course people who in word and deed promoted the Westernization Movement to take its normal lawful course. This is one reason, the other is that since the foreign affairs bureaucrats were out to save the toppling regime of the Qing Dynasty, their intentions were in some respects incompatible with the development of capitalism, which at times they even tried to throttle, but this met with opposition from the compradors, merchants and reformist intellectuals who took part in foreign affairs activities. For instance, when Li Hongzhang and his men tried to use bureaucratic methods to interfere in the operations of the China Merchants Company, the incumbent general managers Tang Tingshu [0781 1694 2873] and Xu Run immediately protested: "According to commercial convention, the affairs of the company are handled by merchants, and it would be inappropriate to have them handled by government officials." "Government officials and merchants are originally two lines, there is a difference between fame and profits to obtain business for ships is done for profit and not for fame, and business cannot be maintained for long without profits."<sup>13</sup> This shows that the foreign affairs bureaucrats reflected one aspect of the demands of the Westernization Movement, but also that their aims in other aspects ran counter to these demands. However, they could not hold up the course of history. Internal strife within the Foreign Affairs Clique in the seventies and eighties still resulted, basically, in conformity with the general trend of history, but the foreign affairs bureaucrats had power and therefore, frequently were in the dominant position in the struggle of contradictions, and that could lead to actions contrary to the demands of the Westernization Movement. As could be expected, the foreign affairs bureaucrats gradually tightened the "official supervision" of the enterprises. In addition, a small number of foreign affairs bureaucrats displayed a compromising attitude in the diplomatic negotiations in the Sino-French war and on other occasions, which on the one hand ran counter to the development of capitalism and on the other hand ran counter to the demand for resistance against the foreign powers. Especially at a time when the movement had developed to a certain phase when it needed a democratic political system to conform with the development of capitalism, the foreign affairs bureaucrats ceased to make any further advances. At that point, the Foreign Affairs Clique as a group was about to break up, each member going his own way. Some started up enterprises of their own and became national capitalists and some turned into bourgeois reformists.

We see from all this that the Westernization Movement followed its own developmental law. The propositions of the Foreign Affairs Clique in some respects correctly reflected this law, but the degree to which it correctly reflected

the developmental law was uneven. For instance, in the seventies there was a higher degree of correct reflection. However, there were also aspects in the actions of the Foreign Affairs Clique that violated the law and these violations were different at different times. For instance, after the Sino-French war, the "violating" aspects were predominant and led to a complete extinction of any correct reflections. This is the reason why the Westernization Movement had to end in failure.

We see from all this that there are common characteristics and also differences between the Foreign Affairs Clique and the Westernization Movement, and must not be lumped together. It is therefore wrong to ascribe all actions of the Foreign Affairs Clique to the Westernization Movement all the words and deeds of certain exponents of the Foreign Affairs Clique, such as Li Hongzhang.

Judging from the above discussion of the Westernization Movement and its various relationships, an explanation of the Westernization Movement has its place in history. There are other relationships apart from those discussed in the above, for instance its relation with the compromising diplomacy of the Qing government, but we cannot say that compromising diplomacy was the line of the Westernization Movement. The compromising diplomacy did not start with the Westernization Movement, it had been displayed at the time of the Opium War, and it did not end with the Westernization Movement, since the compromising diplomacy of the northern warlords and Kuomintang government were even more serious than that which happened at the time of the Westernization Movement. Limits of space prevent me from further discussions.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "The Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science."
2. Bao Shichen [0545 0013 5256], "An wu si zhong" Vol 26.
3. Peng Zeyi [1756 3419 4135], ed., "Material on the History of Modern Chinese Handicraft Industry" Vol 1, p 534.
4. Wang Tao [3769 7290], "Yue ni ya lue."
- 5,6,7,8,9. See Li Wenzhi, ed., "Material on the History of Modern Chinese Agriculture," Pt. 1, pp 165,168, 171 and 169.
10. In 1872, "Report of Consul Tan Shuiying."
11. Li Hongzhang, "Qing kai Quanzhou tong kuang pian."
12. Cf. Sun Yu [1327 3022 2768], ed. "Material on the History of Modern Chinese Industry" pt. 1, vol 1, p 263.
13. Unpublished material at the Shanghai Library: "Petitions by Tang Tingshu, Xu Run and Zhang Honglu [1728 7703 4389] to Li Hongzhang," 7th year of Guangxu.

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### EDUCATION STRESSED IN FUJIAN, HEBEI

#### Fujian Education in Rural Areas

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 8 Nov 82 p 1

[Article: "Fujian Carries Out Education on Socialism and Patriotism in Rural Areas"]

[Text] Correspondent Wang Zhongren [3769 6988 0086] reports that at present Fujian is carrying out education of peasants in rural areas using "four, three, two" as its main content.

The so-called "four three two" education is the "four adherences" (adhering to the four basic principles), "three considerations" (consideration of the benefits to the nation, collective and individual) and "two oppositions" (opposition to smuggling and bribery as well as market speculation and opposition to various unhealthy trends and evil practices). For more than 10 months, the places which have been carrying out this educational movement have promoted the building of the material as well as the socialist spiritual civilization.

The widespread implementation of the "four three two" socialist education in rural areas throughout Fujian was actually initiated and decided by the CPC Fujian party committee. The educational method of reckoning accounts was extensively used in carrying out this education. This guided the peasants to integrate with the counties, communes, brigades and individuals to actually settle these seven accounts: one was the various economic policies of the party since the 3rd Plenary Session of the Central Committee that benefit agricultural production; two was raising the prices of agricultural by-products that increase peasant income; three was the state granting credit for the support of agricultural production; four was the state's gratis investment in rural area capital construction; five was social reductions, economic relief and relief for natural calamities; six was the state supplying various allowances such as chemical fertilizer, pesticides, farm implements etc.; seven was the improvement of peasant life.

## Gao Yang Stresses Education

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 9 Nov 82 p 4

[Article: "Hebei's Provincial Party Committee 1st Secretary Gao Yang [7559 2254] Indicates the Need to Place Education in a Position of Strategic Importance"]

[Text] Not long ago, Zheng Baosheng [6774 0202 3932] and Zhang Hongju [1728 4767 5467] reporters for PEOPLE'S EDUCATION visited Hebei's 1st secretary, Comrade Gao Yang, and asked him to state his views on how to implement the spirit of the party's 12th Congress and handle educational undertakings.

Comrade Gao Yang said that since the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, education work has continuously been given serious attention and strengthened. The party's 12th Congress has also gone further by regarding education and science as a fundamental link and one of the three major focal points for economic development in the next 20 years. This shows the party's emphasis on education. In order for Hebei Province to act in the spirit of the 12th Congress, we must immediately begin to formulate and strengthen plans for scientific work and must certainly place education in an important strategic position.

When discussing the need to conscientiously implement policies on intellectuals and raise the status of teachers, Comrade Gao said that the present working and living conditions of the intellectuals must be improved. Teaching is hard work, precedence must be given to solving the poor working and living conditions. The geographical location of Hebei is quite good, but some intellectuals are still ill at ease, which shows that our work has not been done well. We must select enthusiastic persons to resolutely implement the party's policies on intellectuals, carry out the work of these policies and prepare to expend a little money. After the status and treatment of intellectuals improves, we must carry out propaganda and recruit people of ability. The intellectuals of Hebei have not been used adequately and a portion of intellectuals must be drawn from other provinces and cities.

When discussing the problem of the need to further strengthen investment in intelligence and educational funds, Comrade Gao Yang said that in the past there was not much investment by Hebei in education and that this was illogical. In fact, the money used for education was limited and was given grudgingly. Of the many strange happenings over the past years, one is the astonishing waste in many areas and it is only in education that money is grudgingly expended. It is 33 years since the founding of the PRC, yet some of our local primary schools still do not have chairs and desks. How much can this cost! By saving a little bit from the wasted money we are bound to have chairs and desks! Some school buildings are dangerous and this is of particular concern on rainy days, this situation must be resolved. It is inexcusable that our children attend classes in such places! However, some counties, communes and production brigades have taken money for education and spent it in other places. Some of our comrades who are working for socialism do not understand that they should give serious attention to education. This is

truly bewildering! This idea must be changed. Comrade Gao Yang also said that the teaching facilities of some middle schools and universities are very poor and urgently required improvement and completion. He emphasized that at present, in order to strengthen the educational front, we cannot indulge in idle talk but must provide actual financial and material resources. Although the present finances of Hebei Province are strained, the potential is great. The present provincial party committee indicated the need to handle well the increase of production and conservation, tapping potential and try in every possible way to obtain money for education and science. If next year's finances are ample, operating expenses for education should be increased to a large extent; it is necessary to obtain the financial and material resources from each area to cure the "anemia" of education and scientific research units as well as the historically "outstanding account." If we want to save 10 million, 20 million, 30 million or even more, the first sum of money should be invested in education.

Comrade Gao Yang gave his own views on the problem of strengthening the implementation of communist ideological education for students. He said that due to the influences of the 10 years of turmoil and bourgeois ideology, some students do not have high aspirations nor revolutionary thought. Some only pay attention to food, clothing and pay, envy the bourgeois life style and believe Western capitalist societies are "Paradise." He sternly and realistically explained that if we neglect the building of socialist spiritual civilization under the guidance of communist ideology, it is possible the youth will lose their revolutionary ideology and aim and lose their spiritual force and fighting ambition. It would then be difficult to resist the encroachments of decadent bourgeois ideology. Therefore, using communist ideology to educate students is not only a long-term strategic necessity but also a realistic and urgent need. We must give great importance to and conscientiously stress this. (Originally published in PEOPLE'S EDUCATION No 11, 1982).

9480

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## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### GRADUATE STUDENT PRAISES COMMUNIST PARTY

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 9 Oct 82 p 1

[Article by Jin Yenshi [6855 1484 4258], a graduate student in economics at Nankai University: "Aspiring Youths Should Embrace the Communist Party To Strengthen China as Their Duty"; an ideological report written as an application to join the Communist Party by a graduate student]

[Text] (Editor's note: This report was written by a student, Jin Yenshi, on 1 July of this year when he applied to join the Communist Party. This ideological report notes that after his long and trying experience in learning about the party, Jin was raised to a new level of ideological consciousness, and filled with new hopes for life. The content is factual and heartening. This report helps us to analyze the state of ideological thinking of students and graduate students of higher institutes; and to improve and strengthen their ideological vocations, as well as to help improve their party-building duties. Those young people who have undergone similar trying experiences and who have held erroneous ideas about the party will also benefit from reading this ideological report.)

I come from an intellectual family. My father was once wrongly accused of being a rightist. At the age of 15, I came to the Jiyu coal mine and worked 6 and 1/2 years as an underground mine worker. In July 1975, I joined the Communist Youth League. The following year I became a secretary of the league branch and a member of the league committee. My understanding of the party at that time was far from mature. This was a product of my indifference. My feeling at that time was just as that described by Comrade Chen Jiangong [7115 1696 0501] in his letter to the Beijing University Party Committee, "I was angry and bitter, yet I was rigorous and observant; I was skeptical toward that period of time, yet I searched around everywhere for reasons, truths, and logic...." It was under these circumstances that I went on to teach myself music.

At the beginning, my self-instruction [in music] was not for the party, not for the people, and not because of any personal struggle. It was my search for relief. In 1973, an unexpected opportunity came along, I was admitted to the School of Music. Subsequently, because of the charges against me of "having

problems" and "not willing to settle down and work in the mine" my dream of studying music was destroyed. I was depressed. I took up a pen and a book. An intense self-esteem has driven me to create new hopes to mend my broken heart. This type of negative viewpoint toward life and my understanding of the party were interrelated. At that time, I believed the party was above me and distant from me. As I was totally enwrapped in my misconceptions, the party became supernatural to me. I did not even dare to think of joining the party, for fear that my unworthy self would contaminate its image. In 1976, before I left for the rescue mission to the earthquake damaged area of Tongshan, I considered applying to the party. Though, at that time, my motive was that the party needed me; I had to sacrifice myself. This altruistic motive came as natural.

Young people often think highly of themselves. They consider themselves more capable than party leaders. Of course, prior to the smashing of the "gang of four," there were some people who were quite clear-headed. For me, though, it was long after this before I began to realize the fate of the party and the country.

After Comrade Mao Zedong passed away, I was saddened and devastated. In 1978, as I was analyzing the question of "practice is the only criterion in judging truth," I realized that China was wavering and I felt that "leftism" was dangerous. In my helplessness, I was under the influence of doubts that permeated our society. When I participated in the creation of "beginner's economics" and other social groups, my thinking was relatively biased. Thinking back, I could cite two reasons for this: first, it was impatience; I was unhappy about the fal progress and was "dissatisfied." Second, it was pride. After learning a little of theory, I thought I was qualified to criticize conditions. Though my views were not totally wrong, I was irresponsible in believing I was totally right. But, my skeptical attitude rose out of my concern for the country and the people. It was under these circumstances that I felt that the young generation was not a superior generation but one that constantly struggles in ideological thoughts.

The 3d Plenum of the 11th Central Committee had a great impact on me. It resolutely affirmed the need for a broad and accurate grasp of the scientific basis of Mao Zedong Thought, extensively analyzed the standards for truth, decidedly stopped the use of the slogan "with class struggle as the key link," and carried out the strategic decision of shifting the focal point of work to the building of socialist modernization. As the policies set up by the Third Plenum were realized step-by-step and the conditions were improved, my understanding of the Third Plenum deepened. If my support for the party during the early stage was solely out of my deference, my total support for the party after the Sixth Plenum rose out of my belief in the policies set by the Third Plenum and my full confidence in the party.

Prior to the Sixth Plenum, I thought it was wrong to totally discredit Comrade Mao Zedong's accomplishments since the liberation, to attribute to him as his errors the faults of the "Cultural Revolution," and the smashing of the "gang of four." The "Resolution on certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the PRC" issued by the Sixth Plenum has helped me to resolve my doubts. Before, I thought the goal of "achieving four modernizations



by the end of the century" was unrealistic, for our conditions indicated no such economic guarantees. At the same time, such goal allowed people to sit and wait for the "good life." When it was not realized, people would become frustrated. At least I found this true among young people around me. Comrade Hu Yaobang recently reported at the 12th party congress on "gradually building our society into a powerful country," and Comrade Zhao Ziyang suggested some economic targets to achieve. All these make me feel that the party is really taking the lead in pursuing the goals. I was once indifferent to the party, skeptical about it, and I criticized it; but, now, I am filled with confidence about it. I appreciate and treasure this "confidence" which was developed through a long period of thoughtful search.

Thinking back, a coal miner, went to the university, became a graduate student, went on to give lectures--this was quite an unusual experience. Yet, without the correct leadership of the party, I would still be muddling down somewhere writing songs about the unrealistic world. Even in 1976, I was still writing a play "The Coal-Mine Owner" reflecting the trend of "returning to rightism." It was after many years of trying experience that I realized that the fate of individuals is closely related to the fate of the party and the country. When our country is in trouble, when our party is unstable, no matter how capable a person is, it only brings limited honor and great frustrations. Recently, I often think, aspiring youths should throw themselves into the party's embrace, take up the task to strengthen our country. It is only when thousands and tens of thousands of young people wake up and join together under our party's flag that there will be hope for China and strength for the party.

The successful opening of the 12th party congress has brought new hopes to China. I feel very excited about this. Frankly, in the past because I did not consider the party as one rigorous body and hence when I saw some party members use the party for their own benefit I was mad at the party instead. Now I see that the party Central Committee is determined to rectify the party's workstyle and I personally feel that when the party becomes a militant collective there is strength. The few "comrades" who have a mania for getting involved in unhealthy tendencies are not representative of the party. They are only a minority. If they persist in what they are doing, they will be despised as trash of this century. I deeply love my country. I believe that under the Communist Party's leadership, with people persevering through hardships, that China will become strong and powerful soon.

12273

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## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### ATTRACT INTELLECTUALS, SCIENTISTS TO FRONTIER AREAS

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 6 Oct 82 p 1

[Article by Wang Kang [3749 1660], director of the Committee for Research on Human Resources: "How To Better Settle Scientific Personnel in the Border Provinces--an Investigation of Intellectuals in Xishuangbanna"]

[Text] The 12th Congress of the CPC summarized our rich experiences since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and reaffirmed that "the key to the four modernizations is the modernization of science and technology." The central problem in realizing the modernization of science and technology, especially the scientific and technological modernization of the vast, less developed outlying areas, is the creation of a corps of scientific and technical troops. On the eve of the 12th Party Congress, Comrade Nie Rongzhen discussed with reporters from GUANGMING RIBAO numerous problems concerning intellectuals and, in the final analysis, what was discussed was the problem of creating a corps of scientific and technical troops. Teacher Nie suggested adopting certain flexible, special policies to encourage intellectuals to go to frontier areas for long or short periods of time. In July of this year, I had the opportunity to visit Xishuangbanna, in the southwestern border area of our motherland, and learn how the implementation of intellectual policies was proceeding by doing some investigating of intellectual problems in that area. I truly feel that Teacher Nie's suggestion is absolutely correct. It is a concentrated reflection of the ideas and demands of the broad intellectuals and cadres in the frontier areas.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the party committees and governments of autonomous prefectures have done a tremendous amount of work in the area of implementing policies concerning intellectuals, removing the label of "stinking old nine" from intellectuals, politically giving them a second liberation, and making certain improvements in their work and in their lives. And they are extremely grateful to the party. At present, the problem concerning scientific and technical troops is that there are not enough of them, especially of middle- and high-level technical personnel. In the entire region, including units directly under the Party Central Committee and the provinces, there are only nine high-level scientists and technicians, and middle-level scientists and technicians

account for only about 20 percent of the troops. There are too few scientific personnel involved with tropical crops; this does not meet the economic development needs of Xishuangbanna. In addition, a very striking problem at present is that many scientists and technicians who come from other areas are not content to remain in frontier areas to work. Their returning to the interior or slipping off into large cities is becoming a serious problem. Among the agricultural scientists and technicians under direct regional control, more than half--college, university, and technical secondary school students who were transferred during the 1950's and 1960's--have already left Xishuangbanna. There were 120 students at the Institute of Tropical Plants of the Chinese Academy of Sciences in 1965, and now there are only 35. In contrast, the number of college students sent out of Xishuangbanna for training who have returned is not great--from 1973 to 1980, approximately 1,400 students were dispatched to institutes of higher learning in every area, but only 300 to 400 have returned so far.

The problem of scientific and technical personnel being unhappy about working in the frontier areas and leaving in vast numbers has exacerbated the contradiction between the present situation concerning scientific and technical personnel and the needs of economic development, and this is extremely disadvantageous in terms of developing Xishuangbanna and making use of the superior advantages to its resources and economy. Serious attention is already being given to this problem by party and government leaders in Xishuangbanna. Some leading cadres feel that in order to solve the problem, we must first strengthen our ideological and political work with intellectuals and forcefully commend advanced model figures who work arduously, who settle in the frontier areas, and who establish the glorious mentality of serving the people in the frontier areas. At the same time, we must strengthen the ideological education of certain cadres and the masses, continue to eliminate "leftist" thinking with regard to the treatment of intellectuals, and continue to implement the policies concerning intellectuals. At the same time as we do this, we should, in accordance with what is needed and what is feasible, adopt special policies and forceful measures that support construction in the frontier areas in order to reassure the intellectuals who are in the areas now and to attract greater numbers of scientific and technical personnel to Xishuangbanna and other border areas to work.

The policies and measures they suggest are:

1. From organs of the state and Party Central Committee to every local department, everyone must launch construction work to support the vast, distant border areas, including Xishuangbanna. We must offer suitable support to every trade and profession. In addition to the necessary material support, the main thing is personnel support and knowledge and technical support. In 1961, Comrade Zhou Enlai personally inspected Xishuangbanna. Later, he directed concerned units in Beijing to dispatch medical teams to support Xishuangbanna. During the 10 years from 1971 to 1980, there was no change in this directive. The personnel on the medical teams have been rotated regularly. In addition to curing sickness, the

medical teams have trained some medical personnel for the people of the area, raised the professional level of the personnel, and opened channels to the outside through which Xishuangbanna medical personnel could pass in order to engage in advanced studies. The concern of Comrade Zhou Enlai and the work of the medical teams have still not been forgotten by the peoples of Xishuangbanna, who continue to praise them. There are two full-scale middle schools in Jinghong, where the administrative government is located. Because of a shortage of teachers, or because the quality of teaching is too low, some high school courses, such as biology and physics, cannot be offered. In recent years, Shanghai has supplied six highly qualified teachers to the area in order both to conduct classes and to train others. The two sides signed a contract: after several years of work, those who came may return to Shanghai. Shanghai continues to pay their salaries. Every month, Xishuangbanna gives them a set living allowance. And it supplies them with travel funds to allow them to return to Shanghai once a year to visit relatives. During vacation periods, those who come have a duty to train others, and if the individual agrees, his relatives are allowed to come and visit, with the area playing host--which is tantamount to providing a free trip. This method of treating support personnel should be widely advocated and carried out in a planned and guided manner so that it becomes standardized and practical. Providing flexible, varied personnel support and knowledge and technical support to every trade and profession can solve the problems of insufficient scientific and technical personnel in Xishuangbanna and other frontier areas and [solve] the need to upgrade the training of present personnel, and it can create a general mood in large cities and in the interior areas of concern for the frontier areas: this will strengthen the sense of pride and responsibility of those working in the frontier areas. This means of using real action to reinforce ideological and political work with cadres and intellectuals in the frontier areas will be tremendously helpful in fostering stability and enthusiasm among the scientific and technical personnel in the border areas.

2. In our national economic construction, we must stress and strengthen investment in intellectual development. In minority frontier areas like Xishuangbanna, where science, education, and culture are relatively backward, investment in intellectual development has even greater significance. The Party Central Committee places great emphasis on construction in Xishuangbanna, having supplied it each year with greater construction funding. Now, some leading cadres and numerous intellectuals in Xishuangbanna advocate using a fairly large portion of this money for intellectual development--utilizing it to improve working conditions for scientific and technical personnel, to develop universal education and specialized scientific and technical education, to train cadres and personnel in every specialized field and, moreover, to induce or to hire scientific and technical personnel in various fields to come from other areas, giving the creation of a corps of talent prominence as "basic capital construction."

3. Carry out a policy of regular rotation of scientific and technical personnel from outside the area. We can follow the methods used in Tibet. We can "arrange things to suit the people," allowing the length of service to be long or short. Ten years, 15 years, 20 years or longer--once their

term is up, personnel should be allowed to return to the interior, unless they are willing to extend their stay. Whatever number of scientific and technical personnel and university graduates return home, the same number should be transferred in to take their places. The elderly who retire can return to settle in their ancestral homes or wherever their relatives are residing. In this way, "the elderly have a place to return to," there is coming and going, and there will be more and more people who are willing to work in the frontier areas. Furthermore, along with the development and prospering of economic, cultural-educational, and scientific projects in Xishuangbanna, there will be more and more people who are willing to settle and remain here for the rest of their lives.

4. Provide special living conditions for scientific and technical personnel working in Xishuangbanna. Some advocate restoring the frontier work subsidies, provided prior to 1958; others feel that touches on many areas, that the national economy faces many difficulties, and that it would be difficult to implement such a thing all at once. Therefore, they advocate that scientific and technical personnel be given post allowances or that other suitable methods be adopted. In regard to the matter of education and employment for children, many scientific and technical personnel request that, in entrance exams for college and technical secondary schools, the sons and daughters of those who have worked in Xishuangbanna for more than 20 years should be given the same special consideration in the determination of passing scores that students of the area are given. They should be treated the same, because most of their children were born in Xishuangbanna and have studied in the same schools as students from the area. As for employment of sons and daughters, priority arrangements should be made for those who have supported the border areas for more than 20 years.

5. Adopt special measures to hasten the training of minority scientific and technical personnel. Minority scientific and technical personnel in Xishuangbanna comprise only one third the total number of scientific and technical personnel there. This is totally out of line with the fact that two thirds of the population is made up of minorities. And compared with the scientific and technical personnel who have come from outside the area, their level of expertise greatly needs to be raised. Some leading cadres and scientific and technical personnel in Xishuangbanna suggest adopting special measures, establishing expectations for each institute of higher learning in Yunnan Province and for certain colleges and universities throughout the nation to accept special minority scholars, and strengthening the training of minority scientific and technical personnel and cadres. Only by greatly increasing local minority scientific and technical personnel and other minority intellectuals can we rapidly carry out construction in frontier areas, including Xishuangbanna.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

NINGXIA HUI PARTY COMMITTEE PROMOTES CLEANUP CAMPAIGN

Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 1 Oct 82 p 1

[Article: "Call for Regionwide Unfolding of One-Time Cleanup Campaign-- Autonomous Regional Party Committee Convene a Mobilization Meeting; Regional Party Committee Secretary Ma Xin [7456 0207] and Deputy Secretary Shen Xiaocheng [3947 2400 2582] Participated and Spoke at the Meeting"]

[Text] On the afternoon of 30 September, the party committee of the autonomous region convened a mobilization meeting at the regional party school to "implement seriously the spirit of the 27 September meeting of the Central Propaganda Department, to mobilize and make plans for the regional campaign to clean, order and upgrade which is to be launched in October, and to continue to develop in a thorough and protracted way the "five stresses and four beauties" campaign. The party cell secretaries or persons in charge of each department, committee, bureau, and office of every kind under direct regional direction, the party secretaries and heads of the propaganda departments of each locality, city, and county, and the persons in charge of the Writers' Federation and the mass organizations of workers, youths, and women in the autonomous region and of concerned departments in Yinchuan participated in the meeting. Ma Xin, the regional party committee secretary and chairman of the regional people's government, participated and spoke at the meeting. Shen Xiaoceng, a deputy secretary of the regional party committee, chaired the meeting and spoke as well.

Comrade Ma Xin combined his feelings and understanding gained through participation in the 12th Party Congress and through study of the documents of the congress in emphasizing the construction of a socialist spiritual civilization. He said that a socialist spiritual civilization is more powerfully motivating than a material civilization, and that you cannot build socialism without a spiritual civilization which takes communist ideology to be the core. He spoke for the party committee and the people's government of the autonomous region in calling on people throughout the region to arouse their spirits and--starting now and starting with cleaning, ordering and upgrading--to continue to carry out the "five stresses and four beauties" campaign in a thorough and protracted way, and to struggle in order to realize the "three basic turns for the better" within 5 years.

In his speech, Comrade Shen Xiaoceng requested that, upon returning to their units, comrades who were in attendance immediately pass on the spirit of the mobilization meeting, rapidly mobilize, throw themselves into the campaign to clean, order and upgrade, and make this campaign a real effort to implement the spirit of the 12th Party Congress.

At the meeting, Zhang Yuan [1728 3293], head of the propaganda department of the regional party committee, spoke of eight points that relate to "seriously studying and publicizing the 12th Party Congress documents and thoroughly carrying out a protracted "five stresses and four beauties" campaign: (1) Do a good job of seriously organizing study and promotion of the construction of a high-level socialist spiritual civilization, see to it that what is stated in the 12th Party Congress documents concerning socialist spiritual construction is taken to heart by the people and that everyone becomes aware of it, and see to it that the broad cadres and masses are fully mobilized and enthusiastically participate in every activity. We must study, arm ourselves ideologically, raise our awareness, understand the significance and the role of building a socialist spiritual civilization from the high plane of scientific socialist theory and the politics of our nation's future social development, and firmly establish the guiding ideology of working on the "two civilizations" at the same time. A socialist spiritual civilization which takes communist ideology to be its core is an important feature of socialism; it not only provides tremendous impetus to the construction of a material civilization, but it also guarantees that this construction will develop in the proper direction. The "five stresses and four beauties" campaign is a concrete indication that the education in communist ideology presently being carried out is truly welcomed by the masses. The nucleus of construction of a socialist spiritual civilization is communism. The key link in thoroughly carrying out the "five stresses and four beauties" campaign is to uphold the using of communist ideology and morality to educate the people, seeing to it that the people of every nationality become idealistic, moral, cultured, disciplined workers. We must use the spirit of the 12th Party Congress to arouse and mobilize the masses. We must quickly organize propaganda teams to carry to the masses the substance of the 12th Party Congress documents as they relate to the construction of a spiritual civilization, and mobilize the masses to enter enthusiastically into the "five stresses and four beauties" campaign. (2) Each locality and unit must carry out a thorough investigation and, on the basis of that investigation, establish concrete plans for October activities under unified direction. The party and government at every level must implement comprehensive plans, uphold comprehensive administration, and integrate all elements; furthermore, each department and each unit must actively complete its own tasks within the scope of its own responsibilities. From now on, the "five stresses and four beauties" campaign and the campaign to clean, order and upgrade in Yinchuan should be carried out under the unified leadership of the party and the government in Yinchuan, and regional-level organs and all units within Yinchuan must submit to the unified direction of Yinchuan Municipality. (3) In October, all party and Communist Youth League branches in urban and rural areas should carry out party and League organizational life based on the "five stresses and four beauties" campaign. Party



members must seriously study the party constitution and examine themselves to see if they have accepted their full responsibility during the "five stresses and four beauties" campaign. Party and League members must take the lead in engaging in "five stresses and four beauties" activities, and must first achieve themselves what they would have the masses achieve. The party committees of regional, municipal, and county organs and grass-roots party organizations must carefully monitor this [work]. (4) Use every method to forcefully commend advanced collectives and individuals that surge forth in our construction of a socialist spiritual civilization, fully foster their role as mainstays, and call upon the broad masses to learn from them. At the same time, we must dare to criticize those who do poorly, and dare to struggle against unhealthy tendencies. We must conscientiously create a pervasive social atmosphere in which it is glorious to speak of a socialist spiritual civilization and shameful not to do so. (5) We must arouse the masses, check on how the public pledges, rules, rural people's pacts and other regulations that were made during the manners month campaign in March of this year are being carried out, summarize experiences, make further revisions and additions, and see to it that these things are increasingly realistic, that they are continually being improved, and that they truly bring about the intended effects. Each of the youth groups that have been learning from Lei Feng and building new habits must further revise its own activity plans and actively launch a new campaign. (6) The key point is to continue, on the foundation of strengthening ideological and political work, to clean, order and upgrade. Each area must, in keeping with the different conditions faced in its own area and professions, make concrete demands for cleaning, ordering and upgrading and organize several large, well-planned, goal-oriented mass campaigns, wage numerous battles, solve certain outstanding problems, and systematize and regularize the "three cleanups," and the "five stresses and four beauties" campaigns. (7) Departments having to do with propaganda, ideology, theory, news, and culture and art must take these campaigns as their personal responsibilities, fully fostering their own roles, working hard on publicity and reporting, and creating a strong public opinion in support of the campaigns. (8) Party and government organizations at every level must strengthen their leadership in these campaigns; this is especially true at the grass-roots level. We must pay attention to continually studying new conditions and solving new problems, to summarizing and expanding new experiences, and to forcefully moving the "five stresses and four beauties" campaign forward, realizing ever greater results.

At the meeting, Yang Ke [2799 0344], a deputy secretary of the Yinchuan CPC Committee, made remarks about "seriously implementing the spirit of the 12th Party Congress and continuing to carry out in a thorough manner the 'five stresses and four beauties' campaign in Yinchuan." During his remarks, he suggested initial arrangements to be made for the citywide campaign to clean, order and upgrade, and he noted preparations for conducting a serious check on the 10 tasks that every unit was requested in September to complete. All those [tasks] which have not been completed should be prior to 10 October, and units which cannot complete their tasks on time should be criticized and educated. He stated that we must continue to uphold thorough, on-the-spot guidance, solving real problems and leading the people throughout the city in doing a solid job of carrying out this campaign to clean, order and upgrade.

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### BRIEFS

QINGHAI RURAL BOARDING SCHOOLS--Xining, 30 Nov (XINHUA)--Qinghai Province now has 300 boarding schools with an enrollment of 13,000 primary school pupils. They are of the Tibetan, Mongolian and Kazak nationalities and come from 164 communes in the pastoral areas, provincial officials report. The schools are free of charge to the children of commune members tending herds. Part of expenses for board are paid by the state. Production brigades cover some of the living and study expenses by giving the schools cattle and sheep. The 300 schools have total staff of 2,000 teachers. Quite a number of the more than 3,000 graduates of these boarding schools have gone in to county middle schools and vocational schools and some have jobs as accountants, technicians and team leaders. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0212 GMT 30 Nov 82]

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## HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

### ARTICLE COMMENTS ON REOPENED SINO-SOVIET TALKS

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 11, Nov 82 pp 56-57

[Commentary: "What Will Be the Results of the Reopened Sino-Soviet Talks?"]

[Text] On 4 October, Leonid Il'ichev, Soviet deputy foreign minister, formally led a delegation to Beijing to hold talks with Qian Qichen [6929 0366 3819], China's vice minister of foreign affairs. This discussion of the problems in the Sino-Soviet relationship has broken the 3 year impasse during which no talks were held.

As early as 3 February of this year, the Soviet Union suggested reopening face-to-face talks with the Chinese, but the Chinese reacted coolly. Later, Brezhnev, the leader of the Soviet Communist Party, gave a speech in Tashkent in Soviet Central Asia expressing the hope that the antagonistic relationship which has existed between the 2 nations for 20 years could be ended. At that time, the Chinese reaction was that they wanted to see concrete Soviet actions. Now, allowing Il'ichev to come to Beijing to hold talks with Qian Qichen is naturally a concrete response to Brezhnev's call for talks in Tashkent.

#### A Look Back At Worsening Sino-Soviet Relations

Looking back at Sino-Soviet relations, we see that in the early years of nation building, the Chinese leaned to one side, the Soviet side, following their elder brother's lead in all matters. At that time, those who were dissatisfied with the policy of leaning to one side were labeled rightists and counter-revolutionaries and were severely persecuted. During the late fifties, relations between the nations' two communist parties began to sour and then came the famous propaganda war of 1963 when the two sides carried out contentious debate on the theoretical plane causing successive splits within the world communist camp. From that time on, relations between the Chinese and Soviet Communist Parties became irreconcilable.

At the same time, worsening relations between the two parties influenced state to state relations. In July 1960, the Soviet Government unilaterally decided to withdraw all Soviet experts from China, tearing up several hundred contracts and agreements involving economic construction and military development. This was followed by conflict on the Sino-Soviet border--the Chenbao [Bear] Island incident. The Soviets have continued ever since to station a large number of forces along the Sino-Soviet border--posing a tremendous military threat to

northern and northwestern China. In order to solve the border conflict, the two sides held marathon talks in the past, but when the Soviets invaded Afghanistan in December 1979, China formally broke off these meaningless talks. And in April 1980, China refused to extend the Sino-Soviet treaty of friendship at the end of its effective period, with the result that Sino-Soviet relations reached an all time low.

Now, even if we cannot characterize the Sino-Soviet talks being held in Beijing as the beginning of a break in the antagonistic relations of the last 20 years, we can say that at least they are a start on breaking the most recent 3 year moratorium on talks.

#### Distinctions Are Less and Less Significant

Generally speaking, the relationship between China and the Soviet Union is different from ordinary diplomatic relationships. The two nations have a dual relationship. On the one hand, there are party-to-party relations and, on the other hand, there are state-to-state relations. This is different from the relations China has with any capitalist nation. Because China and the Soviet Union are both nations governed by communist parties, party-to-party relations always take precedence over state-to-state relations. Of course, intense conflicts between the states clearly affect relations between the parties, but the actual power to determine relations resides in the two party Central Committees. Therefore, party and state relations between the two nations always form an intricate interwoven pattern.

Looking at the matter from the perspective of party-to-party relations, there are two levels involved: one is the matter of interpretation and practice of Marxist-Leninist theory; the other is the matter of communist global strategy and the mutual relations between the communist parties of every nation.

At present, whether holding power or watching from the wings, the communist parties in all nations face a severe theoretical and practical crisis. From the time it became a kind of scientific explanation of society over 100 years ago, until now when it rests in the hands of nations governed by communist parties, Marxism has become compulsory dogmatism. Explanation of the doctrine long ago abandoned any scientific basis, and authority to expound on the doctrine lies solely in the hands of the factions in control of the party Central Committees, with the result that the factions holding power in each period each have a different explanation of Marxism, and the factions holding power in each nation each have their own explanations of it in each period of time. Basically, all those factions holding power take what they need from Marxism, using theory to accomodate their own authority and the policies that extend from that authority.

On the surface, the great Sino-Soviet propaganda war in 1963 was a debate held on the international level over interpretation of Marxist theory, but in fact the two sides were merely using Marxist theory to defend the policies they were carrying out at the time. Now, 19 years later, none of those who have assumed power on either side believe that the debate held at that time was over the truth.

In terms of Marxist doctrine, if the Chinese Communist charge in 1963 that Khrushchev's policies in the Soviet Union were revisionist and amounted to the peaceful restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union was true, then the policies being implemented in China today by Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang [5170 5069 6721] are far more revisionist than those carried out in the Soviet Union by Khrushchev, and incline even more toward capitalist concessions. How can this be explained?

In terms of doctrine, the distinctions between the Soviet Union and China are becoming less and less significant; for a long time now, relations between national communist parties have not been based upon a doctrinal bond. Naked power struggles have already submerged the pure spirited search for truth of the past. Viewed on the theoretical plane, there is no way to explain a communist nation joining forces with an imperialist or capitalist nation in opposing another communist nation or bloc of communist nations in international matters, but once the Soviet Union emerged on the world scene as a strongly expansionist, hegemonistic power, one whose expansionism with its air of big power chauvinism even threatened other communist nations, then the tactic which China is using now of uniting with the American imperialists to counter the Soviet imperialists becomes defensible on the grounds of actual need.

#### Intense Practical Conflicts

At present, the Sino-Soviet conflict is not about doctrinal distinctions, but involves intense practical conflicts. Of them, four are primary: 1. The Soviets have stationed 51 military divisions along the Sino-Soviet border--a serious threat to China's northeastern and northwestern areas; 2. The Soviets are supporting Vietnam, making it possible for the Vietnamese to gain dominance over the Indochina peninsula--a threat to China's southwestern areas; 3. The Soviets invaded Afghanistan--a threat to China's Tibet; 4. The Soviets have expanded their influence in the Middle East and Africa enough to upset the global strategic balance of the Sino-U.S. counterweight to the Soviets.

All of the aforementioned practical conflicts can be dealt with in the state-to-state sphere and, therefore, the Chinese and Soviets have recently agreed to reinstate diplomatic contacts beginning with meetings at the vice minister level, the responsibility for these meetings falling to Deputy Minister Il'ichev on the Soviet side and Vice Minister Qian Qichen on the Chinese side. Qian Qichen was originally chief of the Department of Information in China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and is familiar with Soviet affairs. Therefore, during the big State Council reshuffle in February and March of this year, he was promoted to the position of vice minister of foreign affairs. One of the reasons for this was to allow him to carry out the initial Sino-Soviet deliberations with the rank of vice minister.

#### Various Reasons Facilitating the Reopening of Talks

Here we must seek to answer a question. Having been mired for 3 years in a state of almost total disassociation, why have the Chinese and the Soviets decided to revive talks now? What new factors have facilitated the reopening of the talks?

The most important new factor is the two-faced maneuvering of the Reagan administration on the Taiwan issue, the most upsetting part of which has been the sale of arms to Taiwan. China is angered by America's public military support of Taiwan--which perpetrates the so called "two China's." Nonetheless, she doesn't dare break off relations with the United States over this because to do so would place China in a very awkward position. Brezhnev accurately perceived the weakness of this contradiction in the calculations of the Chinese Communists and so promptly issued his call in Tashkent, which effectively opened the door to renewed talks.

Actually, relaxing the tense relations between the two countries is advantageous to both the Chinese and the Soviets. In the past, the tense Sino-Soviet relationship has not seen improvement because, on the one hand, the Soviets were stirring up trouble behind the scenes with their big power chauvinism which leads them to bully the weak and, on the other, there remained the strong anti-revisionist spirit stressed by Mao Zedong.

Since Mao Zedong passed on, and especially since Deng Xiaoping took control, the antirevisionist line has been submerged. Not only do the Chinese Communists no longer reproach the revisionism of the Soviet Union and the Eastern bloc nations, they have even taken a page from Yugoslavia and Hungary, and, in a similar vein, they have realistically tried to understand the Soviet situation and, in the light of this understanding, have tried to study the behind the scenes party struggles that went on in the Soviet Union during the 1920's and 1930's. In terms of improving relations between the Soviet Union and China, this at least serves to reduce conscious obstructions. And this is not to mention the fact that at present the Chinese Communists fervently hope to strengthen their own domestic economy and, because they need a peaceful international environment in order to do so, they are very sincere about wanting to reduce any international disagreements that exist.

But the problem is: that the tense relations between China and the Soviet Union have not been brought on by China, but by the Soviet Union. If the Soviets would remove the large number of troops stationed on China's border, then Sino-Soviet relations would immediately improve. The Soviets have stationed their troops on China's border in order to present a warlike front, to use their strength to bully the weak and to reduce the military pressure that China exerts on Vietnam.

In fact, the Soviet Union today is not the Soviet Union of 3 years ago. The invasion of Afghanistan has mired her down and her support of the military government in Poland means that she must shoulder the entire burden of Poland's economic collapse. Furthermore, Brezhnev is old and frail, and a struggle within the Soviet Communist Party to determine his successor has just begun. When we consider these factors, we must assume that the present Soviet initiative in calling for improved relations with China is not entirely unrelated to her internal economic and political situation.

At present, it is impossible to think that the Soviet Union might abandon its invasion of Afghanistan or might abandon or alter its support of Vietnam. The only possible easing of the tense relations between the countries that could come from the Sino-Soviet talks would be a Soviet reduction of the troops

stationed along China's border. If the reopened talks can lead to this result, then they will have accomplished much.

It is possible that China could accomplish this. But this would only be an easing of the strained relations between China and the Soviet Union and it is not possible to speak of a Sino-Soviet alliance developing.

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## HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

### TOP CPC LEADERS CRITICIZE HUA GUOFENG

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 11, Nov 82 pp 13, 17

[Article by Qiu Ting [8002 0080]: "Hu Yaobang and Hu Qiaomu Criticize Hua Guofeng"]

[Text] A Slow Coup

"Deng Xiaoping successfully carried out a slow coup!"

This is the line circulating around Beijing after the 12th CPC Congress.

People in Beijing speak of the 1976 struggle to capture the gang of four as an abrupt coup. Following the coup, Hua Guofeng [5478 0948 6912] took over as party chairman. Because Hua Guofeng is "left leaning" in his ideology and is the major leader of the whatever--whatever Mao said, whatever Mao did--faction, he was not compatible with the line of Deng Xiaoping. This led to a struggle between the pragmatic faction and the whatever faction in the party Central Committee. The pragmatic faction achieved the victory of their ideological line at the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. Afterwards, Deng Xiaoping purged the leaders of the whatever faction one by one. At the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, Hua Guofeng lost the chairmanship of the party and was relegated to the last vice chairman position. During the 12th Party Congress, Hua Guofeng had no position in the Politburo or on the standing committee of the Politburo. If Deng Xiaoping had not emulated the method used by Mao Zedong in dealing with Wang Ming [3769 2494] at the 7th Party Congress (Wang Ming was removed from power, but was allowed to remain a member of the party Central Committee), Hua Guofeng could not even have retained his party Central Committee membership. The process to bring down Hua Guofeng and the entire whatever faction took about 4 years. Therefore, it is quite appropriate that the people of Beijing call it a slow coup. And it is an uncontestable fact that Deng Xiaoping achieved a total victory.

### The Struggle of Deng and Hu Against Hua

However, from the preliminary meetings of the 7th Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee until the 12th Party Congress, there was an ideological struggle waged between Deng and Hu, on the one hand, and Hua, on the other. This was the debate over the question of whether or not practice is the only standard for testing truth.

Basically, this is an old question. In 1978 when discussions were held about the matter of whether or not practice was the only standard for testing truth, the whatever faction made this point: communism is truth, but communism has not yet passed the test of practice and, therefore, not all truths must pass the test of practice and practice is not the sole standard for testing truth. In his report at the 12th Party Congress, Hu Yaobang refuted this idea. At the preliminary meetings of the 7th Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, Central Committee members broke up into small groups to discuss the draft Hu Yaobang had prepared of his 12th Party Congress report. At that time, Hu Qiaomu and Hua Guofeng were in the same small group. During the discussion, Hua Guofeng again brought up his point denying that practice was the only standard for testing truth. He adamantly maintained that a communist society had not yet been established in the world and therefore it had not passed the test of practice, but that communism would eventually be realized and therefore a truth did not need to pass the test of practice to become truth. This line of Hua's brought forth a tremendous reaction..

#### The Refutation of Hua by the Two Hus

Many of those in the small group disagreed with Hua's viewpoint. On 2 August, in a small group meeting, Hu Qiaomu made lengthy remarks. He pointed out that Hua Goufeng's idea was incorrect. Hu Qiaomu held that communist ideology and the communist movement--past, present and future--has moved, is moving and will continue to move forward in practice. From the creation of the CPC to the establishment of socialist society in China, the struggle and work undertaken has been a part of the communist movement. All work done since the establishment of socialist society has been a part of the communist movement. And therefore, in actuality, the communist movement has more than 60 years of practical experience in China, and another half a century of practical experience throughout the world. Therefore, it is incorrect to say that communism has not passed the test of practice.

After Hu Qiaomu made his remarks, numerous others also made remarks, all of them critical of Hua Guofeng's whatever standpoint. And they demanded that Hua Guofeng arrive at self-criticism.

After this ideological duel, one part of the draft of Hu Yaobang's 12th Party Congress report was enhanced to target it more precisely (the target being Hua Goufeng's ideology). In the final draft of the report, Hu Yaobang said:

"In our nation, communism teaches that the movement carried on by the people which will finally lead to the realization of communist ideals was begun when the CPC was established and led the people in carrying out the new democratic revolution. Now, this movement has already developed in our nation to the point of establishing a socialist society, the initial stage leading to a communist society. Because of this, communist ideology and the practice of communism have been a part of our actual lives for a long time now. The 'illusion that communism is far off' and the notion that 'communism has not passed the test of practice' are completely mistaken. Our daily lives are replete with communism and cannot be separated from communism.



Deng Liqun [6772 0500 5026] Wants To Clean Up

After the 12th Party Congress, Deng Liqun, the head of the CPC Propaganda Department, pointed out that the mistaken ideas of Hua Guofeng will not be without adherents within the party, that there was a need to clean up the party and that one method of doing so was to make public a revised and supplemented text of the remarks Hu Qiaomu made at the small group meeting. Deng Xiaoping agreed with Deng Liqun. Because of this, the lead story on the front page of the 24 September issue of RENMIN RIBAO was Hu Qiaomu's long article "On the Practice of Communist Ideology." This was seen as an assault on the whatever notions of Hua Guofeng.

Another method is to study the documents of the 12th Party Congress. Of course, the significance of studying the 12th Party Congress documents goes way beyond this. Presently, all state agencies and units are studying the documents, primarily Deng Xiaoping's remarks opening the congress and the report of Hu Yaobang. In Beijing, many people in every unit have shown little interest in this study. Because of this, a strict study regimen has already been established requiring all cadres who participate to be tested. This insures that the cadres digest these documents. Is this method of study proper? Many people whisper their dissatisfaction.

The slow coup was completed. The last bastion of the whatever faction fell. The Deng Xiaoping generation has begun. There is a rumor going around Beijing that Hua Guofeng will be sent to a province to be deputy governor. But for an important figure like this, it will not necessarily come to pass. Deng Xiaoping has a very effective method at hand--he can bring back some of the Politburo members who have fallen from power, bringing some of the more influential back into the capital. Chen Yonggui [7115 3057 6311] has still not returned to Dazhai.

This ideological struggle has still not ended. There will be others writing articles and making speeches in line with the ideas of Hu Yaobang and Hu Qiaomu and criticizing the notions of the whatever faction.

This is a good thing.

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## HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

### COMMENTARY URGES STAUNCH ANTI-LEFT LINE

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 11, Nov 82 p 1

[Commentary by Gao Wen [7559 3306]: "Anti-'Left,' Good!"]

[Text] In recent years, this journal has continually pointed out that the forces of the extreme Left are a major danger within the CPC and within China at present. On the eve of the 12th CPC Congress, the JIEFANG JUNBAO printed an article by Zhao Yiya [6392 2496 0068], a consultant to the paper, exposing this danger.

The article exposed the dissatisfaction of some in the army with the practical principles and policies of the seek the truth in facts type, making clear the collaboration going on ideologically and politically between the forces of the extreme Left and the whatevers--whatever Mao said, whatever Mao did--forces and revealing the intention of these forces to coerce Deng Xiaoping into abandoning the line of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and moving to the "left." (Editors note: The Zhao Yiya article and an article criticizing the Zhao Yiya article and an article criticizing the Zhao Yiya article appear in the appendix of this journal.) This is a piercing alarm for those who have contracted the disease of disparaging the "left"!

Of course, we still cannot say that this article in the JUNBAO is a sign of a joint revolt of the leftist and whatever forces because, at present, they are not strong enough and the time is not right for them. But, the situation could change, and accumulative quantitative change can bring about qualitative change. In the countries that the West refers to as "communist countries," the use of military troops to support coups has been proven to be an effective way of seizing power. In China, under specific conditions, the forces of the Left could progressively gain such an opportunity. This is the danger posed by the forces of the extreme Left. And it is this that is behind our repeated calls in the past to "oppose the Left first."

Now, Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang [5170 5069 6721] have discovered the rampant impertinence of the forces of the extreme Left and the threat they pose to the party Central Committee. Perhaps they also sensed that the promotion by Hua Guofeng [5478 0948 6912] of the antipractice line on the eve of the 12th Party Congress and Zhao Yiya's dissemination of anti-Deng and anti-Hu remarks were not coincidental, but rather occurred in concert, and so they removed Wei Guoqing [7279 0948 3237], the leader of the whatever and the extreme Left factions

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

BRIEFS

ZIYANG TO VISIT AUSTRALIA--Canberra, 23 Nov (AFP)--Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang will visit Australia next year, the department of foreign affairs confirmed here today. No date or itinerary has been announced yet but the premier is expected to arrive in April. Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser issued the invitation in August this year when he visited China.  
[Text] [BK241313 Hong Kong AFP in English 0855 GMT 23 Nov 82]

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within the military, from his powerful post as director of the General Political Department. This is cause for rejoicing! We have finally engaged the leftist king and his forces!

The country and party will know no peace until the "leftist" poison is cleaned away and the forces of the "Left" are eliminated. The first rounds have now been fired. I hope that we make persistent efforts to move ahead with our victories. History has taught that turning to oppose the "right," after having just begun to oppose the "Left," leads to stumbling over ourselves in confusion; the result is to harm the ranks of the people and to allow the leftist forces to go free. This mistake was made in 1959 and again in 1979. I hope it will not be repeated in 1982 and 1983. Compared to the potential havoc that leftist forces can wreak, of what significance are people like Yin Sulai [0936 4790 0171], Wei Jingsheng [7614 0079 3932] and Wang Xizhe [3769 1585 0772]? What is there to fear from Bai Hua [4101 5478] and Sun Jingxuan [1327 7234 6513]? To summarize our experience, first, since we affirm that the "Left" is the proper line of attack and we must not, having begun the fight, immediately turn and fire our weapons helter skelter into our own troops. Secondly, while opposing the "Left," we must not become corrupted by its pernicious influence, must not fear pressure from the "Left," must not allow ourselves to slide so much as half an inch to the "Left" and must not use the "Left" to oppose the "Left." Do they oppose the line of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee? Good. We must firmly uphold this line even more and not retreat a step from it. By upholding the correct line, we will win the hearts of the people. Those who win the hearts of the people can beat back any interference and attack by evil forces and can certainly achieve total victory for their cause.

Completely eliminate evil causes. Completely eliminate the cause of the "Left." Be willing to resolutely, firmly and staunchly oppose of the "Left." Be willing to resolutely, firmly and staunchly oppose the "Left" and to carry out struggle against the "Left" until the very end!

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TAIWAN

SEMINAR ON ADVANCE FRENCH TECHNOLOGY OPENS

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[Text] Taipei, 1 Dec (CNA)--The French Seminar on Advanced Technology (Semaine Francaise des Techniques Avancees) opened at the Grant Hotel Tuesday.

Experts from 28 French Government and privately owned enterprises will introduce high technology in telecommunications and energy research during the meeting.

The opening ceremony was presided over by G. Monod, president of the semi-governmental French External Commerce Center (Centre Francais de Commerce Exterieur), the sponsor of the meeting.

The Republic of China has been France's third largest trade partner in Asia. Trade between the two countries is increasing yearly, Monod said.

Through the meeting, he said, the center will provide opportunity for contacts between technicians and related personnel of the two countries. Industrial cooperation will also be advanced in the future, he added.

Chang Kwang-shih, chairman of the China External Trade Development Council, addressed the ceremony, encouraging local personnel to learn and use French technology.

Discussions covered telecommunications, energy and industrial facilities.

The French enterprises include the French Atomic Energy Commission and the French Power Company.

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